NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

NE 1953 VOLUME XLII, NO. 6

Illinois U Library

NEWS for League Members 265

Defense 'Socialism' Robs Cities ..... *Editorial*

Let's Set Washington Free ..... *Alfred Steinberg*

New Light on Public Ethics ..... *Fritz Morstein Marx*

How to Sell Judicial Reform ..... *Winston Paul*

Kansas Creates Administration Department 283

Miamians to Vote on Abolishing City 290

New Jersey Commission Cites Property Tax Evils ... 294

P. R. Fairest Plan, Says Worcester Editor 297

Citizen Committees Aid Local Governments 300

Metropolitan Area Problems — Part I 305

PUBLISHED BY THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Cassella Awarded League Fellowship

William N. Cassella, Jr., assistant professor of political science in the School of Business and Public Administration, University of Missouri, has been awarded the National Municipal League Fellowship for 1953-54. He will join the League staff about August 1 on a one-year leave of absence from the university.

William N. Cassella, Jr.

Mr. Cassella follows Guthrie S. Birkhead, assistant professor of political science at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, who was the first recipient of the League Fellowship established last year.

Screening of applicants this year was carried out with the assistance of a committee of political scientists selected with the cooperation of the American Political Science Association. The committee consisted of Roscoe C. Martin, Syracuse University, chairman; Joseph E. McLean, Princeton University; Lee S. Greene, University of Tennessee; Edward W. Weidner, Michigan State College; Edwin O. Stene, University of Kansas; and Winston W. Crouch, University of California (Los Angeles).

Mr. Cassella, who will be 33 next month, holds a B.A. degree from the University of Illinois, an M.S. degree from Syracuse University, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from Harvard University. A member of Phi Beta Kappa, he has taught political science at the University of Missouri since 1948.

Visit to Williamsburg Regarded a 'Must'

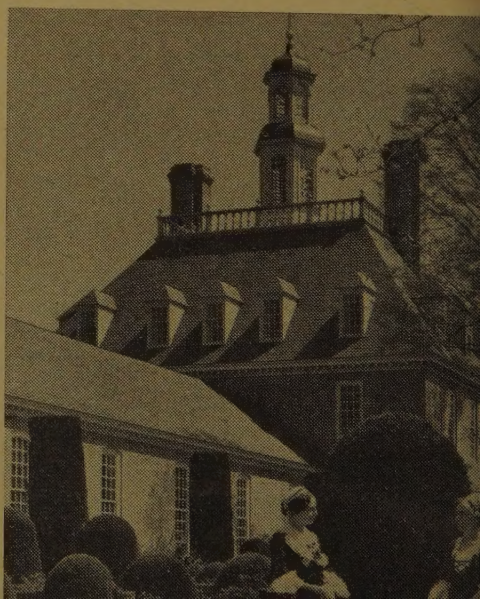
Many of those who will be attending the National Conference on Government in Richmond next November are planning to make side trips either before or after the sessions to some of Virginia's landmarks.

No visitor to the state should miss Williamsburg, capital of colonial Virginia and America's most famous restored city with its Governor's Palace, Capitol of 1705, Raleigh Tavern and other buildings.

Restoration of colonial Williamsburg was started by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in 1926. Today, there are 325 restored or reconstructed colonial residences, public buildings, gardens, streets and greens, and 80 original buildings. Six million people from all parts of the world have visited the area.

Williamsburg, only 50 miles from Richmond, offers accommodations and eating places to fit every purse.

The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg



National Municipal Review

Volume XLII, No. 6 **Total Number 433**

Published monthly except August
By NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Contents for June 1953

NEWS FOR LEAGUE MEMBERS 265

EDITORIAL COMMENT 268

LET'S SET WASHINGTON FREE ..... *Alfred Steinberg* 270

NEW LIGHT ON PUBLIC ETHICS ..... *Fritz Morstein Marx* 276

HOW TO SELL JUDICIAL REFORM ..... *Winston Paul* 280

NEWS IN REVIEW

CITY, STATE AND NATION ..... *H. M. Olmsted* 283

COUNTY AND TOWNSHIP ..... *Mason Gould* 290

TAXATION AND FINANCE ..... *Wade S. Smith* 294

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION ..... *George H. Hallett, Jr. and Wm. Redin Woodward* 297

CITIZEN ACTION ..... *Elsie S. Parker* 300

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST ..... *John E. Bebout* 305

BOOKS IN REVIEW 312

The contents of the REVIEW are indexed in *Index to Legal Periodicals, International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service.*

Entered as second class matter July 11, 1932, at the Post Office at Worcester, Massachusetts. Publication office, 150 Fremont Street, Worcester 3; editorial and business office, 299 Broadway, New York 7. Copyright 1953 by the National Municipal League.

Subscription, $5 per year; Canadian, $5.25; foreign, $5.50; single copies 50 cents.

Editorial Comment

Defense 'Socialism' Robs Cities

WE have heard a great deal in recent years about "creeping socialism." One form of government ownership, about which little is said, has been "creeping" at an alarming rate during the last year. This is *technical* federal ownership of real and personal property used by defense plants.

The American Municipal Association points especially to "a growing tendency on the part of federal defense agencies to phrase contracts so as to exempt raw materials, goods in process, implements, equipment and machine tools from local taxation. This is accomplished by immediately transferring title to such property to the federal government, or an agency thereof, upon small partial payment of the purchase price by the contracting federal agency."

The association observes that: "The holders of such contracts constitute a significant segment of private enterprise in the nation. They require and receive all of the protective and other services of local government without which they could not operate during the process of manufacturing material under federal contract."

Tax losses cited range from $3,500 in Jackson, Michigan, to $376,420 in St. Paul, Minnesota, and $18,000,000 in Los Angeles County.

The injustice of making other taxpayers in areas that have large defense contracts bear national defense costs that should be distributed throughout the country is obvious. Even more serious may be deterioration of public services and reduction of the capacity of municipalities to borrow for improvements required by increased population. Substandard educational and other services for millions will result.

This is just one of many urgent reasons for getting on with the comprehensive study of intergovernmental relations called for by Charles Edison last November at the National Conference on Government.

Ten Things on the People's Minds

NOVELIST Edna Ferber, on her return from Europe recently, excoriated New Yorkers for maintaining what she described as the filthiest city in the world. Miss Ferber has now declined appointment as vice chairman of a clean-up committee. She describes such sporadic campaigns as futile as Canute's command that the waves stand still. In any case, Miss Ferber's remarks on New York's chronic slovenliness point to what is only a symptom of an even greater slovenliness in government itself. As someone has observed, New York is so big that everything that happens to it is big, even the dirt and disorders of its streets. Unfortunately, it is true except with reference to big men. Too few of them have found their way into New York's municipal government in recent years.

There are more things on the minds of New Yorkers than littered streets. One recent survey made by

Elmo Roper of the things most troubling residents of that city came up with a profile of the New York mind that, in many ways, could be labelled "what people want in the community in which they live." On that list, dirty streets were fourth. They were topped in this order, by an intense hunger for (1) good housing, (2) better transportation, (3) better recreation facilities. Then came cleaner streets, better schools and better government.

Those six items represent what the ordinary Joe and his wife want for themselves and their children. A decent environment to live in, a decent place for the children to play and to go to school, and decent machinery for operating those facilities. Tagging along in the last four places are what might be described as the *sequelae:* the problem of taxes, police protection, juvenile delinquency and the unassimilated foreign masses in the slums.

The basic reason for the wide success of nonpartisan, council-manager government in many communities is that it is dedicated to the promotion of all the things the people of New York, and every other community, want. The old-fashioned partisan government, exemplified by the present staggering administration in New York, is concerned primarily with a kind of game among a few men who like power, influence and prestige. These men scheme and manipulate, not primarily so that people will have better houses, schools or playgrounds, but that they personally will gain influence or prestige or power.

As the voters of this country grow in maturity, they discard as quickly as possible the kind of extravagance that partisan local government so often represents. They do that by adopting a modern charter that permits the city's affairs to be run by men of competence, training and ability. Only in this way do the people more fully satisfy their basic hunger for a better community in which to live and to bring up their children.

The editorial republished above from the May 4 issue of *The Hartford Courant* (Connecticut), inspired the following letter from Miss Ferber to Herbert Brucker, editor:

"Someone—I hope it was you—sent me an editorial that appeared in the May 4 issue of the *Hartford Courant*. This was literally one of hundreds of letters and clippings that, to my surprise, I received after I had made what seemed to me a routine and obvious statement regarding the condition of New York's streets and buildings.

"Out of the welter of communications I am writing you because I thought your editorial was so wise and so constructive that I wish it could be copied in every New York publication (which certainly it won't be), and I wish it could be read by every citizen of New York City."

Arousing people to a recognition of conditions that need correction is only half the battle; indeed, usually much less than half. Most people are well intentioned. But they feel helpless to cope with situations and forces which they tend to overestimate.

Suppose Miss Ferber had chosen to lend the weight of her fame and pen to the cause of obtaining improved government for New York.

(Continued on page 289)

Let's Set Washington Free

Present setup disfranchises thousands of citizens and pesters President and Congress with many tiny duties.

By ALFRED STEINBERG*

IN THE ninth largest city of this great democracy the people are denied the right to vote. Their governing officials are appointed by a man—the President himself—whom they had no voice in electing. Their laws are made by other men, senators and representatives, whom they can neither re-elect nor retire. Nearly two centuries after the colonies resounded with the cry against taxation without representation, more than 800,000 persons living in the nation's capital have an almost crushing burden of taxation with not the slightest trace of representation.

Since 1874, when Congress took over municipal government in the District of Columbia, its citizens have had no control over their own affairs. "What kind of monkey business is this?" mutters Italian-born Philip C. Manuel, proprietor of a Washington barbershop. "For fifteen years I'm a naturalized American citizen. But I can't vote for anyone."

This undemocratic situation not only disfranchises 840,000 persons living in the capital, but it saddles Congress and the President with petty municipal duties. Says Senator Mike Monroney of Oklahoma, "Once when we were considering the British loan involving billions of dollars, we had to quit and spend a whole afternoon discussing whether rockfish ten inches long could be sold in Washington."

In the last Congress, 250 bills pertaining to the District of Columbia were introduced. Each required the same 28 legislative steps as a far-reaching national measure and some 5,000 man hours on the House and Senate floors and in committee. Four committees, involving a total of sixteen senators and thirty representatives, are responsible for sifting Washington ordinances and holding hearings. The second and fourth Mondays of each month the House of Representatives formally devotes itself to considering bills from one of these committees. Most of that time is spent on such matters as requiring straws to be served in local soda fountains and providing for the removal of weeds and grass more than four inches high.

South Dakotans who voted for Senator Francis Case and Illinois constituents who voted for Representative Sid Simpson would probably be surprised to learn they were also voting for the heads of the Washington city council. For Case and Simpson, as chairmen of the Senate and House committees on the District of Columbia, oversee almost

*Mr. Steinberg, a native of Minnesota, moved to Washington, D. C., in 1940, but later made his home in Maryland where he may exercise his right to vote. Since 1948 he has been wandering in and out of the White House, federal buildings and the Capitol, covering the national political scene as a free lance writer. His articles have appeared in *Reader's Digest, Harper's, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Coronet, New York Times* magazine and the *Washington Post.*

all local legislation with the chief exception of the Washington budget, which is handled by the Appropriations Committees.

Three or four subcommittees of Case's and Simpson's committees are likely to be holding hearings on Washington affairs in any given week while Congress is in session. One such subcommittee heard 178 witnesses on a single bill. Another spent two and one-half hours wrangling whether to set Washington dog licenses at $3 or $5. And once a Washington ordinance emerges from committee, no one can predict how long the full Congress will wrestle with it on the House and Senate floors.

In addition to committee and floor work on District legislation, congressmen put in thousands of extracurricular hours on other local matters. Cab drivers who hold revoked drivers' permits or would-be firemen who lack the required number of teeth roam the halls of the Capitol searching for help. Congressional phones jangle with calls from local officials and irate citizens. "At three o'clock yesterday morning a lady called me up," relates an internationally known legislator who also sits on the Senate District Committee. " 'You're my alderman, Senator,' she yelled at me over the phone. 'There's a rowdy party going on next door to my house and I want you to have it broken up.' "

Nor is the President spared. As mayor of Washington one of his duties is to sign or veto every local ordinance Congress passes. If he vetoes a bill he has to send an explanatory message to Congress. He has to appoint all of Washington's judges, including those dealing with traffic violations, juvenile delinquents and small claims. By law he is required to sign the diplomas for the local college for the deaf.

Has this expenditure of valuable time created a model local government? The blunt truth is that Washington has one of the most monstrous local governments in existence. Congress is a deliberating body for enormous issues and too ponderous to handle local emergencies. Corrective action may take months and if Congress is not in session it has to be postponed until the next year. When Washington had two competing streetcar lines operating separate tracks on the same streets, everyone agreed it was pure folly; yet it took 32 years of repeated congressional investigations before a bill finally passed merging the lines.

President Appoints Commission

Nominally the city's top administrators are three commissioners appointed by the President. Two of them must be civilians who have lived in Washington for at least three preceding years, and their appointment must be confirmed by the Senate. The third is always a military officer the President details from the Army Corps of Engineers. But by patchwork interference Congress has empowered about twenty federal agencies and local boards and commissions to operate independently of the commissioners.

According to law, the chief of the Bureau of Animal Husbandry of the U. S. Department of Agriculture is officially the chief veterinarian for Washington. The Smithsonian In-

stitution runs the Capital's zoo, though its expenses are borne by Washington taxpayers. The Secretary of the Army is responsible for gathering, filtering and pumping water for the District of Columbia, the commissioners paying whatever he thinks the water service is worth. All paving work around Washington parks is contracted for by the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, but a paving job across the street would be handled by the commissioners.

Congress has authorized five separate police forces to operate in Washington. Only one of them—the metropolitan police department—is regulated by the commissioners. In addition there are: the park police, under the Department of the Interior; the zoo police, under the Smithsonian Institution; the White House police and the Capitol police. The park police are supreme in Washington's 761 parks including a few dozen isolated traffic circles and squares that dot the city. The Capitol police direct traffic and hand out tickets around the Capitol and are appointed by congressmen.

Commission's Power Cut

Although Congress in 1892 gave the commissioners power to make some local ordinances, it has whittled away even this limited authority by making many local laws itself. The commissioners could not decree local daylight-saving time. This was left each spring to Congress, occasioning impassioned orations pro and con by city and rural congressmen.

Under one law Congress permitted the commissioners to name streets. Other laws fixed street names in certain areas. When the commissioners wanted to honor General MacArthur by changing Conduit Road to MacArthur Boulevard, they discovered that Conduit Road was a fixed name and that changing it would require congressional and presidential action.

The greatest shortcoming of the local government is its lack of power to fix its own taxes and budget. Both tasks fall to Congress, which shows far less interest in essential community services than in spending local tax money for tourist attractions. The capital has high crime and disease rates. Its schools and hospitals are crowded and pinched. Congressional indifference has made its slums among the worst in the country. Within shouting distance of congressional chambers are alley dwellings without plumbing or light, and where drug addiction, prostitution and tuberculosis abound. But its boulevards leading to historic monuments are wide and clean. Congress never permits Washington to build an ordinary bridge or courthouse but always authorizes an expensive monumental structure.

Some congressmen believe it a strong talking point back home to cut the capital's budget. Constituents erroneously believe that the federal government pays the District's expenses. One time a Mississippi congressman on the House Appropriations Committee had reelection trouble: his opponent charged him with being too generous to Washington Negroes. To prove he wasn't, he eliminated expense money from the next budget for the capital's reform school for Negro

girls. An emergency appropriation was needed to continue this vital service.

Odd items often show up in Washington appropriation acts passed by Congress. Members sneak through unrelated national legislation by burying it in the middle of a District of Columbia appropriation bill. Such legislation, called a rider, is almost invariably something opposed by the President. Under the law a President cannot veto part of an appropriation act. It's either all or nothing. If he vetoes the bill all local services may grind to a halt before a new appropriation goes through Congress.

However, the worst feature of the Washington budget is that the government does not pay its fair share of Washington's expenses. This year for local services provided for the federal government, the government paid $10,000,000, which was less than 9 per cent of the District's budget. Experts agree that the share should have been closer to 30 per cent.

Expenses Not Shared

The federal government owns 42 per cent of Washington. None of this property is taxable. An additional 10 per cent is owned by tax-free foreign embassies and national organizations with headquarters in Washington. Yet it is the Washington taxpayers who install gutters, sidewalks, alleys and streets around federal buildings. They spend $100,000 a year to incinerate federal documents. Millions of gallons of free water air-condition government buildings and gush through drinking fountains.

The District of Columbia began life as a joint cession of one hundred square miles of land by Virginia and Maryland in 1790. This gift included two cities—Alexandria on the Virginia side of the Potomac and Georgetown on the Maryland side.

At the outset, however, citizens of the capital were free to manage their own local affairs. Each city elected its mayor and council. The two counties that were created, one on the Virginia side and the other in Maryland, were run by justices of the peace.

Although the constitution stated that: "The Congress shall have power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over . . . the seat of the government," our founding fathers meant only that no state government would have any say in the capital. They championed local self-government. James Madison, the father of the constitution, wrote, "The inhabitants will have their voice in the election of the government which is to exercise authority over them; a municipal legislature for local purposes, derived from their own suffrages, will of course be allowed them."

After 1800, when the government officially moved in, residents were not allowed to vote in national elections. The constitution is phrased to permit only citizens of states to vote nationally and the capital was not a state. From the start local groups petitioned Congress to amend the constitution on the ground they were suffering from taxation without representation. "We shall be reduced to that condition of which we pathetically complained in our charges against Great Britain," they pleaded.

But Congress did not propose amending the constitution. Congressman John Randolph of Virginia warned the House in 1803: "This species of government is an experiment: how far men may become reconciled to live without political rights."

Those capital citizens living in the 30-some square miles donated originally by Virginia howled for years about their "galling disfranchisement." Finally, in 1846, Congress acted upon their petitions and returned them and their land to Virginia.

Like most other American municipalities during the last century, the District of Columbia lacked public-minded officials. The city councils spent little money on improving the capital's ragged appearance. The District lacked even a single sewer.

The Civil War convulsed Washington. Soldiers stationed in the neighborhood were often rowdy and destructive. Mud grew deeper and the swarms of foreign diplomats who descended on the capital shouted indignantly about its many inconveniences.

Finally, in 1871, Congress decided that something had to be done. The city and county governments were abolished. The capital became a territorial government, with a governor and an upper house appointed by the President and a lower house elected by the territorial citizens. President Grant also appointed a board of public works to clean up the place.

The head of the board of public works, Alexander R. Shepherd, later territorial governor, was possessed with a fanatic passion for making the city the most beautiful of all national capitals. He tore down dilapidated structures, widened boulevards, paved streets, installed sewers.

But Shepherd made his improvements arbitrarily, and he spent almost $20,000,000. Some citizens spoke of financial irregularities, others protested the law giving Negro males local suffrage. Both groups influenced Congress and toward the close of its 1874 session Congress passed a temporary law ending the territorial government and local voting rights. Congress would itself make the local laws while it pondered a next move, and the President would appoint a board of three commissioners as local administrators. For the first time in three-quarters of a century the residents could not vote.

Voting Privileges Lost

In 1878 Congress made that system permanent. Local citizens agreed to swap voting privileges for a promise that the federal government would pay half the operating expenses of the capital. But in 1921 Congress cut the federal share to 40 per cent, in 1925 to 30 per cent, and today the government's share is less than 9 per cent.

For 75 years, now, Congress has debated ending its local legislative burden and bringing democracy back to the capital. Both political parties have called for the end of this local shackle. The Republican platform of 1952 reads: "We favor self-government and national suffrage for the residents of the nation's capital." Most congressmen speak exasperatingly of their work as city councilmen. Says Senator H. Alexander

Smith of New Jersey, "All of us have more than we can do. Let the people of Washington handle their own affairs."

In 1949 the Senate overwhelmingly passed a bill turning over its municipal functions to a locally elected government. And last year it passed a similar measure. But on neither occasion did the House back the Senate.

Off the record, most congressmen agree that at bottom the reason for the reluctance of the House of Representatives to relieve itself of this local headache is a racial one; 35 per cent of District residents are Negroes. A handful of congressmen, strategically sitting on the House District Committee where legislation to permit local voting must first pass, are determined not to extend suffrage to Washington Negroes. And in so doing they bar Washington's 545,000 white persons from first-class citizenship.

A great many of their southern colleagues are not impressed either with their stand or their public arguments. For his part, Senator Holland of Florida feels, "It becomes increasingly ridiculous to waste so many hours on problems that could be better handled by local representatives." Adds Representative Brooks Hays of Arkansas, "There is no justification for Congress to deny the citizens of Washington their American birthright."

Washington cannot be set free without the help of fellow Americans throughout the nation.

Bills pigeonholed in the House District Committee can be brought to the floor by a petition signed by 218 members of the House. Unless there is a national demand by voters that their representatives restore local self-government to the District of Columbia—and devote their time to national issues—the present despotism will creak on.

Local representative government must come first. For it is the basic training ground for full citizenship. It requires only a law passed by Congress and signed by the president. The next step, the right to have a voting representation in Congress and the right to vote for president like all other Americans, requires an amendment to the constitution. This takes an affirmative vote of two-thirds of Congress and three-fourths of our state legislatures. It too will not come unless voters throughout the nation bring it about.

New Light on Public Ethics

Confusion of popular attitudes toward moral standards in public life prompts renewal of thoughtful discussion.

By FRITZ MORSTEIN MARX*

THE editor of the REVIEW has asked me for some comment on four books which deal with the place of ethics in public life. In easing me into the harness, he has reminded me of my "special interest" in the subject. Curiously it was consciousness of demonstrated interest that previously led me to decline the privilege of reviewing one or two of these books in professional journals. I suggested on those occasions that it might be better to turn the job over to somebody unmoved by "special interest." But here the matter seems different. In the first place, four books on the same theme make a showing that will win the theme recognition even from those otherwise quite uninterested. Then also, at this spot, with its characteristics of a civic forum, a freely roaming report will be more welcome than the strict ritual of a book review.

The books are *Morality and Administration in Democratic Government*, by Paul H. Appleby,[1] *Ethics in Government* by Paul H. Douglas,[2] *Morality in American Politics* by George A. Graham,[3] and *Ethics for Policy Decisions—The Art of Asking Deliberative Questions* by Wayne A. R. Leys.[4] Each makes for rewarding reading. Each, indeed, could singly serve as a competent introduction into the complexities and ramifications of public ethics. Taken together, these books represent an impressive treatment of the subject—unflinching, mature, articulate. What a boon would it be if the contents could be condensed to the size of a pamphlet attractive to the timid appetite of normally alert citizens!

What is wrong with us, individually and as a nation, that we have brought upon us such heavy lecturing? This is a perfectly reasonable question to be raised at the outset. More than one thing, however, needs to be said to furnish an adequate answer. To begin with the most immediate, the twentieth century has witnessed something of a revolution in the role of government in American society. Growth of government, strikingly in evidence in particular during the last 25 years, has been working toward a new balance of free enterprise and public responsibility which is still nebulous in some important aspects and sharply contested in others.

Such growth brings growing pains —limpness, fatigue, inertia. These, in turn, not only offer a hospitable climate to parasites but also sap the

*Dr. Morstein Marx, staff assistant in the Director's Office of the Bureau of the Budget, and adjunct professor of political science at American University, served as chairman of the Citizens Commission on Ethics in Government appointed by the County Board of Arlington County, Virginia. His account of the commission's work was published in the October 1952 issue of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW.

[1]Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1952. xiii, 261 pp. $4.

[2]Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1952. ix, 114 pp. $2.25.

[3]New York, Random House, 1952. xiii, 337 pp. $3.50.

[4]New York, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. xiii, 428 pp. $6.35.

moral stamina of people who generally value integrity. On a level of broader significance, it is no less necessary to recall the unresolved issues of ethics left us as the legacy of the industrial revolution. And ultimately, we even confront the formidable problem of the relationship between freedom and faith in an increasingly secular western civilization.

It is clear, then, that the appearance of these four books last year cannot be taken to prove that that year brought us to a moral reckoning. Nor would it be justified to explain the matter by reference to certain evil smells drifting across the political scene, sure to be exploited to the utmost in an election campaign having the earmarks of a true test. Publishers like to be timely, but it would be quite wrong to imagine that these books needed the stimulation of yesterday's disclosures about influence peddling, indifference to public ethics and violations of the trust of office.

On the contrary, the lesson suggested by the books is that in the long past we have often been no better than the worst we are guilty of now; that generally there is keener appreciation today of the urgency of sustaining a high standard of official conduct; and that such standard depends on a great deal more than devising some improvements in the design of traps to catch rats.

Defense of Integrity

Take Dean Appleby, who ostensibly sets out to check the rigging that connects morality and administration in the context of democratic government. Granted that he seems to be talking both at the beginning and at the end about things administrative, there is no chance for the reader to escape the sobering discipline of a deeper perspective. What is the relative degree of responsiveness to ethical restraint shown by private and public organizations? What meanings should one read into the concept of democratic morality? Which conditioning forces may be expected to function as safeguards against venality in government? Why is it that preoccupation with legal prescriptions for official conduct has proved to be a dead-end alley in so many respects? Can something be done to strengthen the relations between the three great branches of government as a common expression of the public conscience? These are some of the questions encountered by Appleby in his search for a "pattern of administrative responsibility through which administration seeks continually to nurture moral values peculiar to, and unfolded by, political democracy."

Appleby, whose judgment deserves much respect because of his extensive administrative experience, is convinced that public administration in the United States is well along toward some such pattern of responsibility. He feels that individual lapses will bring "correction" from within, even in the case of festering sores caused by the ills of patronage. Senator Douglas, by comparison, has satisfied himself that "institutional changes" need to be introduced and —what is a different matter—will do the trick.

Of course, like so many of us, Douglas would be glad to see a more radical change: "We all need a moral regeneration which will give us a loathing for the shoddy and the

corrupt as well as a deep desire for integrity." But having said that much, he centers his attention primarily on specific recommendations for rules of legislative and administrative conduct, like those proposed by the Senate Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in Government under his distinguished chairmanship. On the whole, these recommendations would throw the weight of criminal law behind restrictions intended to keep public employees off that area where there is danger of an entanglement of public concern with private advantage.

In his observations on the ethical problems of legislators, Douglas tells a chapter that has long remained obscure to voters with little patience for their chosen representatives. Here he singles out the high cost of running for office, the lawmaker's dealings with administrative agencies, and the issue of fair procedure before legislative committees, especially those engaged in investigations.

It's Everybody's Business

Both in purpose and in execution, the most comprehensive examination of public ethics in our day is that by Professor Graham. Some may suspect satirical intent in a title like *Morality in American Politics*. These will be duly squelched once they have settled down to read. The intellectual diet contains much of the same nourishing staples that enrich the fare presented by Senator Douglas. This is no mere coincidence, for Professor Graham played a notable role on the staff of the Douglas subcommittee.

But nobody familiar with Graham's scholarship would assume for a minute that in his case association might breed subservience. For one thing, as an academic he was under no compulsion to write with as much circumspection as must a legislator when expounding a controversial thesis for the sake of clarity.

After a brief consideration of the cultural setting of morals and politics in the American tradition, he drives straight for the heart of the matter by exploring the moral aspects of political representation, legislative choice and executive leadership. As he proceeds, his path crosses often with Appleby's, but he ends up in a different corner, working through the underbrush of party action and pressure politics.

Despite the range of his analysis, however, Graham allows the reader no comfort. The pointing finger is never far from the nose of "the individual American, the average man," and closest perhaps in the massive sentence: "The battle for the integrity of American life is fought in the minds of men."

Asking the Right Question

If these three books are general disquisitions, the fourth by Dean Leys, out of the workshop of the philosopher, is given over, to the extent of a generous half, to practical exercises in ethical judgment. These, called by the author policy studies, deal with concrete situations stripped down to their essentials, such as racial conflict over a housing project, policy-making by labor unions and management, Donald Nelson and the reconversion controversy and the partition of Germany.

To be sure, before there can be fruitful exercises of this kind, it is

necessary to know how to go about finding solutions. The needed guidance is supplied in the first half of the book. In this battery of chapters, Leys brings together an interesting assortment of nutcrackers found handy by various schools of moral logic. There is Bentham's utilitarian calculation, the casuistic approach, Aristotle's golden mean, the Hegelian rule of historical necessity, Dewey's instrumental thinking, and Kant's categorical imperative, to name some of the tools at random. In this way Leys gains a sort of checklist of critical questions with which to lay siege to tough ethical issues until they yield.

Leys, in short, is more concerned with helping those engaged in making decisions to ask the right questions than with forcing a single answer upon them. In this orientation he is not unique. The other books, too, see greatest hope for a restoration of public ethics to a place of eminence in a cultivation of habits of inquiry. If it is possible to develop such habits of inquiry, there would be no doubt about the outcome of what Graham calls "the battle for the integrity of American life."

On the other hand, although regulations expressing an informed consensus have their use in this field as in others, nothing would do less toward a stronger moral sense than clamping upon people's minds a crisp orthodoxy that has all the answers. If we mean business in the matter of public ethics, our paramount concern should be to induce more people to raise questions of ethics as a common practice, in their own minds as well as in public affairs. The effect would not be blunted by honest differences in answers.

A Long-Term Task

There is in these four books a clear awareness that public ethics reaches far beyond the pious satisfaction of avoiding scandal. It will do little to moralize about malfeasance in office and ignore the circulatory process that makes into one thing private ethics and public ethics, business morality and official morality. In this view it becomes obvious that the state of public ethics at any time is merely a mirror of what people accept as the general facts of life, social and economic as well as political. The mirror may need wiping but the wiping won't change the picture.

Thus, ultimately, we face a central problem which in these books is stabbed at only in occasional allusions. That central problem is how to define, in terms of wisdom, the ethics of conflict, which by inference also includes the ethics of making common cause. As embattled partisans, we simplify our problem by identifying the other side with the Devil, whom we meet by cunning in order to match his cunning. But our cunning makes him only the more resourceful. And let nobody forget that the ruthlessness of conflicting interests comes into stark display even in local affairs, despite the romance we have woven about our town.

If we just slap some more lawyer's language into the statute book and then turn to something else, we would have hardly done more than change the subject of discussion. On the other hand, what might be done in a long-term effort still awaits reconsideration and authoritative statement.

How to Sell Judicial Reform

The technique of the salesman and the enthusiasm of the missionary must be combined to stir citizen's interest.

By WINSTON PAUL*

JUDGES and lawyers should be leaders in the effort to improve the judicial system of any state. The Bar Association of Texas is to be commended for taking the lead there. Judge John J. Parker of Texas has aptly stated:

"If the lawyer wishes to preserve his place in the business life of the country, he must improve the administration of justice in which he plays so important a part and bring it into harmony with that life. If he imagines that the present functioning of the courts is satisfactory to the people, he is simply deluding himself.

"Workmen's compensation commissions were established very largely because the courts were not handling efficiently the claims arising out of industrial accidents and it was felt that they would not administer the compensation acts as efficiently as administrative bodies.

"Business corporations are willing, as all of us know, to suffer almost any sort of injustice rather than face the expense, the delay and uncertainties of litigation. Arbitration agreements are inserted in contracts with ever-increasing frequency; and every such agreement is an implied affirmation of the belief that lay agencies for attaining justice are more efficient than the courts.

"Let me remind you that the administration of justice is the business of the lawyer as well as of the courts and that if he does not wish to see his business slip away from him, it behooves him to go about it in an efficient and businesslike way.

"But there is a higher ground upon which I would base my appeal. If democracy is to live, democracy must be made efficient; for the survival of the fit is as much a law of political economy as it is of the life of the jungle. If we would preserve free government in America, we must make free government, good government. Nowhere does government touch the life of the people more intimately than in the administration of justice."

How does one go about getting judicial reform; how does one organize to accomplish this? In this field, lay interest and the organizing talents of businessmen can be most helpful.

In selling judicial reform four factors are important: (1) a non-legal sponsoring group, (2) leadership, (3) public knowledge and support, (4) adequate financing based on a carefully prepared budget.

This article is based primarily on the experience of New Jersey in obtaining a complete reorganization of its courts as one of the principal objectives of the 1947 revision of the state constitution. While the educational work and the campaign that brought success dealt with other

*Mr. Paul, chairman of the Board of Directors of General Aniline and Film Corporation, was president of the New Jersey Committee for Constitutional Revision, a member of the 1947 New Jersey Constitutional Convention and chairman of its Committee on Public Relations and Information.

needed improvements in the constitution, judicial reform figured so prominently in the picture it is possible to tell the story largely in terms of this one issue.

The first step is to invite into the preliminary meetings, even for the discussion of objectives, a group of outstanding civic leaders. They must be thoroughly familiarized with the reasons for the proposed improvements. As laymen, they may well know where the courts fail to meet the needs of the citizen, especially the local police and traffic courts, which are too often integral parts of the political rather than the judicial system. And these are the courts in which millions of our citizens have their only contact with a court and from which experience they form their opinion of American justice.

Lay interest will also be especially valuable in improvements in the method of the selection of jurors, to insure that they be competent, intelligent and honest. Also, little argument will be required to convince businessmen of the value of responsible and effective administrative supervision of the judicial system of their state. No businessman would think of running his business without an executive or administrative head.

Care and thought must be exercised in the selection of these civic leaders to insure that they consist of people who have a sincere civic spirit. Careful and thorough advance planning of this organizing group will be a major factor in your ultimate success. An important consideration is that this organizing group should be balanced and bipartisan. It should include representatives of such business groups as the state chamber of commerce, the local chambers, taxpayers and trade associations. Selections from both the A. F. of L. and C. I. O. are important. Representation of the farm bureau, state grange and similar farm groups should be obtained. The affiliation of the League of Women Voters and similar women's groups is especially valuable. In New Jersey, they were literally a tower of strength in the campaign. If there are important foreign and racial groups these also should be given recognition.

Leadership Important

From this organizing group, a leader should be selected. He should be a person of courage, persistence and determination, with sufficient knowledge of political tactics and strategy to give over-all direction to the campaign, based upon a knowledge of political currents. New Jersey was fortunate in having such leadership. Arthur T. Vanderbilt, formerly president of the American Bar Association and now chief justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, filled this role most admirably, although without any official position in the movement. The official leaders looked to him for wise advice and guidance. If funds afford it, a full-time, experienced director, preferably professional, is desirable.

After setting up an organizing group and selecting a competent leader for the direction of the campaign, the next need is to secure sponsorship of the movement by "front men," whose integrity and public standing are such that their support will be generally recognized as sincere and informed and who can

command newspaper space. Obviously, it is of great help if the effort is led by a public official of commanding position. In the campaigns for constitutional and judicial revision, New Jersey had the active leadership of three successive governors, Charles Edison, a Democrat, and Walter E. Edge and Alfred E. Driscoll, Republicans, and leaders of the New Jersey Bar. Statements by any of these men always received excellent publicity and commanded public respect.

Outstanding leadership and shrewd direction, however, are insufficient. Needed is support by the public. Citizen ignorance and apathy as well as the selfish interest of those who feel they benefit from the existing system must be overcome. It is necessary to make clear to the businessman and the ordinary citizen that he has a stake in the efficient and expeditious administration of justice, for instance, many businessmen have been the victims of strike suits.

Get Public Support

The campaign for public support will require the enlisting of speakers for whom a handbook, printed or mimeographed, should be prepared; the arranging for numerous public and group meetings of service clubs, churches and schools; and the distribution of literature, embellished, if possible, with cartoons.

Many citizens are unfamiliar with the present court system of their state and with the reasons for improving it. It is therefore of primary importance that information on these points be widely disseminated. Newspapers can be induced to run series of articles. Leading editors can be persuaded to write editorials. Just as the evangelist is psychologically sound in seeking first to convince the individual of his sinfulness, so the average citizen must first be convinced of the need for improvement in the judicial system. Charts can be prepared showing the present court setup and comparing it with the simpler and improved proposed plan. Comparisons can be made with the systems of other states. Articles can be written for state law journals and for the weeklies and Sunday papers which circulate in the state.

Such a broad and wide campaign to enlist public interest and support will require adequate financing based on a carefully prepared budget. I would stress that such financing should be separate and independent. If the financing comes from the state chamber of commerce, for instance, the public may think the latter will attempt to exercise control and the whole movement may be looked at askance by other groups. There is no harm in getting contributions from the individual members of such organizations, but the movement should not be an appendage, or thought to be such, of any one group.

Realizing the New Jersey campaign would require years, leaders in the campaign set up an Educational Foundation to concentrate on educational aspects. This eases the money-raising problem since contributions to such an educational foundation are tax-deductible.

There was a close affiliation between the Campaign Committee and the Educational Foundation. The speakers and the publications of the

(Continued on page 289)

News in Review

Kansas Administration Department Created

Five Separate Functions Brought under One Head

THE 1953 Kansas legislature has enacted a law setting up a Department of Administration, under an executive director to serve at the pleasure of the governor. The department will include divisions of personnel, purchasing, budget, accounts and reports, the division heads to be in the classified civil service, appointed after competitive examination. The change occurs on July 1.

The legislature in 1951 created in the office of the governor, for a two-year period, a Division of Administration with the duty, among others, of cooperating with the Legislative Council in drafting a bill to reorganize and modernize the fiscal, accounting, purchasing and budget affairs of the state, in a single administration department. The new law is a result of this effort.

The Legislative Council prepared a report on *Fiscal Reorganization* for the legislature as background for consideration of proposed bills on the subject. It points out that the functions mentioned above are now performed by five different offices. The principal duties of the single department are stated to be: to develop financial policies and plans for consideration of the governor and the incoming governor, as the basis for the executive budget, to prepare the detailed documents to carry out the financial plan; to coordinate and supervise all fiscal affairs and procedures and execute policies and plans approved by the legislature; to approve audit claims, make special investigations upon request, purchase and store supplies, install and maintain records, issue warrants, provide central and consolidated services, and develop plans for improvements and economies in the organization and operation of the various state administrative agencies.

Legislative review and control would be provided by an independent post-audit and by a State Finance Council consisting of three legislators, the governor and the lieutenant governor, as an advisory and review board.

Most of the powers of the present Civil Service Board are transferred to the executive director and the State Finance Council. The board will continue to hear appeals of employees and will consult with the executive director on rules recommended by the personnel director.

Arizona Legislature Makes Administrative Changes

In the course of its recent regular session, the Arizona legislature again provided for a limited amount of administrative reorganization by establishing three new departments of government, initiated a proposed constitutional amendment to freeze the size of the House at its present figure and enlarge the membership of the Senate, set up a legislative council, made several changes in the state election laws and authorized some budget relief for local government. The legislature was in session 79 days, a new record for the body. The governor did not once exercise his veto.

New departments of law, finance and public schools will be established. Organization of the last named, however, is contingent upon acceptance by the voters at a special election to be held September 29, 1953, of amend-

ments to abolish the present state board of education and the elective office of superintendent of public instruction. The Department of Public Schools would include, in addition to a commissioner of education, a state board of public schools, none of whose members would be permitted to be a teacher, school administrator or an elective or appointive school official.

The proposed amendment relating to the size of the legislature will, if adopted, freeze House membership at 80 and increase the Senate from 19 to 24 by giving each county two senators. If the amendment is rejected, the House, beginning in January 1955, will include 104 members. The amendment, however, would augment the power of the conservative rural counties which at present are overrepresented in the Senate under a system of constitutional apportionment which allots one senator each to nine counties and two each to the other five. The amendment will be submitted to the voters at the special election in September.

Personnel of the twelve-man Legislative Council authorized by the legislature have already been appointed by the presiding officers of the two chambers from their respective memberships. The presiding officers are *ex officio* members. The council, whose duties will begin July 1, will supplant the special legislative committee on state operations (interim committee) which has been functioning for the past several years and will succeed to the powers and duties of the State Legislative Bureau, now a part of the State Department of Library and Archives.

Although Arizona has a system of permanent, personal registration, a new law provides for a temporary break in the continuity of registrations by requiring that all qualified persons must re-register after January 1, 1954. Another act makes various changes with respect to the form, verification and method of circulation of petitions and provides a formal method by which petition signers, after second or possibly first thought, may withdraw their signatures.

Cities, towns and counties which have experienced difficulty in furnishing adequate services because of the 10 per cent budget limitation law were granted some relief by a measure which permits them to adopt for the 1953-1954 fiscal year a budget based upon actual expenditures during the current fiscal year, plus as much as 20 per cent more. Tax levies must not be increased more than 10 per cent, however, as in the past. The new budget figure will serve as a basis for future budgets to which the customary 10 per cent ceiling will apply.

A state retirement law will supplement benefits received by state employees under the federal old-age and survivors' insurance program, in effect in Arizona since January 1. Under the supplementary program, both employees and state government will contribute 3½ per cent to the retirement fund.

PAUL KELSO
University of Arizona

Colorado Council Studies State Reorganization

The Colorado legislature, instead of appropriating funds for Governor Thornton's Committee on Reorganization of the State Government,[1] has directed the recently established Legislative Council to cooperate with the committee by furnishing staff and other assistance for a thorough study of administrative reorganization of the executive branch.

[1]See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 139.

Partial Area Basis for Wisconsin Senate

In a referendum at the April 7 election in Wisconsin the voters by a narrow margin approved the use of area as well as population in redistricting for the State Senate. A similar proposal had been defeated on November 7, 1952, in an advisory referendum, by a majority of about 65,000. Early in the present legislative session, however, the dominant rural majority in both houses voted to hold the second referendum, in which, despite a heavy opposition vote in Milwaukee County, the proposal won by about 20,000.

A caucus of the rural majority, mostly Republican, thereupon devised a plan giving 70 per cent weight to population and 30 per cent to area, after considering a 60-40 division. Detailed legislation introduced as a result will, as one effect, transfer the ninth Senate district from Milwaukee to northern Wisconsin, leaving Milwaukee County with six senators instead of seven. The proposed new ninth district's population (1950) is 58,186, whereas the rearranged districts in Milwaukee County range in population from 136,603 to 157,308. The lost district has been represented by a Democrat.

Merit System States Now Number 23

Enactment of a civil service law in Montana covering most of the 4,000 state employees brings the number of merit system states up to 23, according to the National Civil Service League. The new law results from investigations by the state's "Little Hoover Commission" and is expected to cut turnover, which has sometimes been as high as 100 per cent a year in clerical staff, and to establish a job classification system and a sound salary and career plan.

Home Rule Loses Again in Washington State

The legislature of the state of Washington has adjourned without submitting to the voters a proposed home rule amendment. A similar proposal lost out in 1951. The amendment, although considerably limited in scope, would have embodied much of the home rule program urged by the Association of Washington Cities. It received almost unanimous support from the Senate Committee on Constitutional Elections and Appropriations, after a public hearing, but died in the Senate Rules Committee.

Missouri River Basin Commission Proposed

A revised draft of a suggested interstate compact for development of water, land and related resources of the Missouri River basin has been published for the Missouri River States Committee by the Council of State Governments. It calls for the creation of a Missouri Basin Commission of ten to fifteen members, including state and federal representatives. The draft was issued at the request of Governor Sigurd Anderson of South Dakota, chairman of the committee, as a preliminary to further study and consideration of the compact idea in relation to the basin's development.

Rhode Island Primary Law Somewhat Improved

Rhode Island's legislature made two improvements in its advanced direct primary law which brings it still nearer to the National Municipal League's model. One relieved the party managements of the necessity of filing petitions in support of their duly certified designees (which, uniquely, are identified as such on the party primary ballots, as favored in the League's model). The other permits unendorsed candidates for party nomi-

nation to combine their petitions for easier solicitation of signatures.

Other locally desired amendments were: (1) to hold primaries of all parties together on the same day (instead of a week apart)—this had been promised by the platforms of both parties; (2) to give unendorsed candidates representation among primary officials; and (3) to permit candidates to have their names grouped in a slate on the voting machines.

R. S. C.

Council-Manager Plan Developments

Sioux City, Iowa, (1950 population 83,991) voted on April 28 to adopt the council-manager plan, 11,822 to 7,625. The city has operated under the commission plan for 42 years.

In **Orchard Park, New York,** (2,054) the village board has created the position of village manager.

In **Portsmouth, New Hampshire,** a bill was submitted to the city's delegation in the state legislature, calling for a referendum in November 1953 on the present council-manager charter and substituting a weak-mayor charter. At the public hearing only one person appeared in favor of the referendum, while 46 appeared against it. As a result, the city delegation has reported the bill as "inexpedient to legislate." Thus, the council-manager plan appears secure until at least 1955.

In **Concord, New Hampshire,** a bill was submitted to the city delegation for a referendum in November 1953 on the present council-manager charter and substituting what was substantially the old mayor-alderman charter under which the city operated from 1910 to 1949. At the hearing there was overwhelming opposition to a referendum. One local newspaper reported there was no more sentiment for such a referendum than there is for a revision of the United States constitution. The city delegation refused to authorize the referendum but substituted a bill which would give the voters an opportunity to express their sentiments on the present form of government. The question on the ballot will be so worded as to determine whether the voter wishes to hold a referendum at the 1955 city election. It will be, in effect, a referendum on a referendum.

In **Dover, New Hampshire,** which has a strong-mayor plan, proponents of the council-manager plan prepared a bill calling for a referendum this September. The bill met with strong opposition from politicians at the public hearing, but the city delegation decided that such a referendum will be held on the second Tuesday in September 1955, and every fourth year on petition, until the matter is referred to the people four times. The delegation also decided that 500 signatures must be obtained before a referendum can be approved.

A bill authorizing **Shrewsbury, Massachusetts,** to adopt the representative form of town government with a town manager has been presented to the legislature. The action was authorized at a special town meeting on May 4.

A campaign for the council-manager plan has been started in **Holyoke, Massachusetts,** beginning with a discussion meeting sponsored by the Young Republican Club in April. Petitions for a vote on the subject have been prepared.

A charter bill has been introduced in the state legislature for **Watertown, Connecticut.** It gives the people of the town two alternatives from which to choose, the council-manager plan and the mayor-council plan.

Bills have been introduced in the **Pennsylvania** legislature to enable

cities of the third class to adopt the council-manager plan and to establish a new class—second class B—of 120,000 to 135,000 population, which would also be permitted to adopt the manager plan. This class takes in **Erie,** where there is an active movement for the plan.

The city council of **Reading,** one of the largest third-class cities of Pennsylvania, voted three to two to endorse the legislation permitting the manager plan in such cities.

On April 28 voters of **Steubenville, Ohio,** elected a charter commission of fifteen members pledged to draft a council-manager charter.

Mt. Clemens, Michigan, defeated a proposed council-manager charter on April 6 by a margin of 71 votes out of more than 3,000.

Ann Arbor, Michigan, voted in the ratio of nine to one on April 6 to revise its old special act charter and to elect a nine-member charter commission on June 2.

A proposal to abandon the council-manager plan was turned down 2,941 to 1,220 by the voters of **Watertown, Wisconsin.**

Galena, Illinois, voted on April 21 to retain the council-manager plan, 913 to 838. The plan was adopted December 1, 1948, and went into effect May 1, 1949.

In an advisory vote on April 21 **Palatine, Illinois,** voted against the manager plan 1,022 to 489.

The **International Falls, Minnesota,** charter commission has been studying the manager plan.

Mason City, Iowa, voted 2,688 to 2,277 on April 28 against returning to the council-manager plan, which it had for eighteen years until 1945. Mayor Howard E. Bruce favored returning to the plan. Organized labor was opposed to it. Less than 5,000 of the city's 14,000 registered voters participated in the election.

In **Ft. Dodge, Iowa,** the Organization for City Manager has filed petitions calling for a vote on adopting the manager plan. In **Ottumwa** adoption of the plan is also being considered.

As a result of activity in favor of the council-manager plan, a special election will be held in **Joplin, Missouri,** on the election of a charter commission.

Valentine, Nebraska, voted against a proposed manager plan, 411 to 236, on May 12.

A group of citizens of **Abilene, Kansas,** has been conducting a campaign for abandonment of the council-manager plan in favor of the old commission plan. Petitions for a vote on the question have been filed.

There is a movement under way in **Girard, Kansas,** to change from the commission to the manager plan of government.

A study of the manager plan has been initiated by the **Olathe, Kansas,** Chamber of Commerce.

In **Tulsa, Oklahoma,** the mayor has appointed three charter committees—two to draft council-manager and strong mayor charters, respectively, and one to review the existing commission form.

In **Provo, Utah,** the *Daily Herald* is actively interested in adoption of the manager plan.

A citizens committee, appointed by Mayor A. F. Rohrman, has proposed to the city council of **Walla Walla, Washington,** that the council-manager form of government be adopted. The League of Women Voters has been studying the plan.

In **Marysville, California,** a citizens committee has met with city officials to study a proposed council-manager charter.

Fresno, California, by a vote of approximately four and a half to one on April 13 decided to name a board of

freeholders to draft a new charter for presentation to the electorate within a year.

Oroville, California, defeated a proposal to adopt the manager plan at the general municipal election on April 13.

The legislature of British Columbia has created the **District of Kitimat,** a municipality covering 61 square miles on the Pacific coast, and has provided for the appointment of a municipal manager.

Faulkner Act Upheld in New Jersey

The Supreme Court of New Jersey on April 30 upheld the constitutionality of the so-called Faulkner act, which sets forth various forms of municipal government and provides for making them effective through local referenda. The law had been challenged by a group of six taxpayers of Hoboken, which city had chosen the mayor-council plan as prescribed by the act. The decision enabled Hoboken to proceed with the election of a mayor and nine councilmen on May 12.

Managership Training at Universities of Maine, Kansas

The training of post-graduate students for city managerships continues successfully at the University of Maine under Professor Edward F. Dow. Maine has over 100 small communities under the manager plan, where students of this course may get field training. Students frequently move directly into managerships on graduation in communities where they may hold several titles besides that of town manager.

Starting salaries have averaged about $3,500. Twenty students are currently enrolled and, as the demand for graduates continues greater than the supply, the university director of admissions is broadcasting invitations to "ambitious young men" to enroll for next September.

The sixth annual city managers' school at Kansas University, sponsored by the Governmental Research Center and the university, was conducted from April 22 to 25, inclusive, with 60 city managers in attendance. Besides serving as a refresher course for city managers in the five-state area centering around Kansas, it provided instruction for students of the profession throughout the area.

As noted in the April REVIEW (page 188) Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, starts a new two-year graduate course of training for city manager careers in September.

Newark, N. J., Elects Charter Commission

On May 12 the voters of Newark, largest city of New Jersey, decided by a ratio of eight to one to establish a charter commission to study that city's present commission form of government and determine whether it should be changed. At the same time the charter commission itself, consisting of five members, was elected, as well as the five members of the city's governing body. The recommendations of the charter commission are expected to be placed before the voters in a referendum at the November election. Its members include a professor of law, the president of the Newark Welfare Federation, a former president of the League of Women Voters, and representatives of the AFL and CIO.

Eleven Michigan Communities Use Joint Services

Eleven suburban communities north of Detroit, Michigan, are cooperating in the joint provision of important municipal services for their residents, including police radio, garbage and rubbish collection and disposal, water

supply, hospital service, fire protection and sewerage.

Nine cities are included, ranging in population from 3,500 to 50,000: Berkeley, Birmingham, Clawson, Ferndale, Hazel Park, Huntington Woods, Oak Park, Pleasant Ridge and Royal Oak. The other two communities are Southfield and Royal Oak townships.

AMA to Meet in New Orleans

The American Municipal Congress, sponsored by the American Municipal Association, will have its 1953 meeting at New Orleans, Louisiana, November 29 - December 2, inclusive. Continued attention will be given to national municipal policies. The Government Public Relations Association will meet in New Orleans at the same time as the American Municipal Association.

HOW TO SELL JUDICIAL REFORM

(Continued from page 282)

Educational Foundation had easy access to schools, churches and similar groups for the dissemination of factual information as to the shortcomings of the old court system and the various proposals for improvement.

I have kept until the last the consideration of one essential ingredient for success, namely, that the campaign must be nonpartisan. From the beginning, effort must be made to secure the support of prominent, respected and independent members of both the major political parties and, in addition, to enlist those citizens who do not customarily engage in political activity. Naturally, if a legislature is dominated by one party, it is helpful, and only practical, to have the cause presented by leading members of that party, but bear in mind that legislators are impressed if the leaders of the opposition party also sponsor the proposed changes.

The appeal should be based on the facts: (1) that the program is not designed to harm either party, is not planned to be of assistance to either party, but that it rises above partisan consideration and is essential in order that the judicial system can best serve the interests of all the citizens; (2) that it is necessary in order that there be public respect for the processes and administration of law as the basis of our democratic form of government.

The technique of the salesman and the enthusiastic zeal of the missionary must be combined to stir citizen interest. This support will come if the cause is worth fighting for. As General Jan Smuts said to the students of Oxford, "When enlisted in a good cause, never surrender for you can never tell what morning reinforcements in flashing armor will come marching over the hilltop."

EDITORIAL COMMENT

(Continued from page 269)

Suppose she had chosen to persuade other influential, articulate persons to join her in looking beyond the dirt at the fundamental causes of the inept government that leaves the largest city in the position of stumbling along by blind momentum.

If the experience of hundreds of other cities is any indication, then she might expect to come back to New York some day and be quoted as saying, "What lovely, free air—free even from dirt! This, at last, is a city we can all be proud of."

County and Township . . . . . *Edited by Mason Gould*

Miamians to Vote on Abolishing City

Merger with Dade County Purpose of Florida Bill

AN act abolishing the government of the city of Miami for the purpose of consolidating it with Dade County will be voted upon by Miamians at a special referendum June 9. The Florida State Senate, which introduced the bill, approved amendments to it inserted by the House.

The original bill as passed by the Senate gave the voters of Miami no voice in the proposed abolition. The House added a provision calling for the June 9 referendum and also stipulated that the election would require participation by at least 15 per cent of Miami's registered voters to make it valid.

If approved by a majority of the required number of voters, abolition of the city government would take effect July 1. If less than 15 per cent of the voters go to the polls, the proposal will be re-submitted at the city commission primary in November. If approved then, abolition would take effect December 1.

Following is the text of the bill as originally passed by the Senate:

"Section 1. That the city of Miami, Florida, be and is hereby abolished.

"Section 2. That Dade County, Florida, shall service to and be liable and responsible for all of the debts, obligations and liabilities of the city of Miami, Florida, and shall acquire all of its property; provided, however, that only property within the corporated boundaries of the city of Miami shall be taxable for the indebtedness of the city of Miami evidenced by general obligation bonds, but such property shall continue to be liable and taxable for such bonded indebtedness.

"Section 3. This act shall take effect at midnight, June 30, 1953."

A companion measure, recently introduced, is actually in the form of a charter for the consolidated Miami-Dade County government to be known as the city and county of Miami. It would change the city of Miami to an urban taxing district with no government or functions of its own. Other municipalities within the territorial limits of the proposed new city and county would not be affected by this bill. However, any such municipality may subsequently consolidate with the city and county of Miami and come under the provisions of the act by a referendum of its voters, thereby becoming another urban taxing district.

The charter is said to be intended as an interim document until such time as a new, complete, long-range charter can be prepared. It confers many new powers and duties upon the county commissioners, who would administer the new consolidated government. Although described as "a step toward the county manager plan" when first announced, the charter contains no provision for a chief administrator of any kind.

City-county Traffic Commission Created

A joint traffic commission serving both the city of Savannah, Georgia, and Chatham County has been created by the state legislature, according to the American Municipal Association.

The seven-member commission will be composed of one city alderman, one county commissioner, three citizens appointed by the city and two citizens appointed by the county. Employment by the commission of a traffic staff headed

by a traffic engineer is authorized. This staff will be carried on the Savannah city payroll and be governed by its personnel regulations.

The city will provide two-thirds of the commission's budget and the county one-third. The county commissioners have the right to levy property taxes to raise the funds necessary to pay the county's part. All expenditures made by the commission must be approved by both the city council and county commission.

Georgia Adopts Medico-legal Act; Illinois Seeks One

A new office, that of state medical examiner, has been established in Georgia by the legislature's passage of a bill entitled "Georgia Post-mortem Examination Act."

Holder of the office must be a licensed physician appointed by the director of the State Crime Laboratory (a division of the Department of Public Safety) and the director of the State Department of Public Health. The medical examiner is to designate "licensed physicians at convenient locations throughout the state to act as medical examiners in performing post-mortem examinations at the request of the coroner of any county." These local examiners may receive fees of from $15 to $75 at county expense or the work may be done free by salaried examiners of the state.

Dr. Warren B. Matthews of the Georgia Association of Pathologists, with support from the Medical Association of Georgia, was largely instrumental in securing passage of the bill.

In Georgia, coroners must require post-mortem examinations and inquests in certain broad classifications of cases. Coroners remain elective in each of the 159 counties for four-year terms under the new state constitution of 1945, a fact which has postponed fuller adoption of the principles of the National Municipal League's *Model State Medico-legal Investigative System.*

A bill to establish a chief medical examiner to improve the state's medico-legal service in the investigation of suspicious deaths has been prepared jointly by the Illinois State Medical Society and the State Bar Association for introduction in the state legislature. Since coroners are elective in the counties under the state constitution, the office must continue. The proposed bill, however, would transfer the investigation of deaths to the chief medical examiner, abolish coroner juries and establish tighter procedures under a staff trained in medicine and pathology as proposed in the League's *Model.*

County May Grant Tax Exemption to Industry

Maryland has passed a bill giving Allegany County a new form of industry tax exemption to help the county secure industrial expansion. Any expansions, additions and extensions made by established manufacturing, fabricating, assembling, processing and distributing industries, factories and plants in the county are now exempt from county and municipal taxation.

The new law is an extension of Chapter 449 of the Laws of 1951 encouraging establishment of new industry in the county by allowing tax exemptions for land, buildings, tools, implements, raw materials and manufactured products on hand, and all personal property used in the business for ten years from date of establishment of the new industry in the county.

States Recommend County Assessing Districts

The New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policies has recommended appointment of full-time county assessors

in the state, the National Association of Assessing Officers reports.[1]

The commission also recommended that assessments be made at 50 per cent of full value. Assessments in New Jersey now vary from 10 to 60 per cent of full value.

In Michigan, a bill was introduced recently to create an assessment district in each county to have jurisdiction over all property not within the corporate limits of any city. This bill would abolish all township assessors and many part-time assessors.

Three other states—Pennsylvania, Iowa and Nebraska—have established county assessment districts in recent years.

Court Upholds County Education Board on Bond Proposals

The Supreme Court of North Carolina has ruled that the power of county commissioners to approve or disapprove requests of county boards of education for bond issues does not include the power to submit an alternative proposal to the voters in a bond election.

According to *Popular Government*, published by the Institute of Government, University of North Carolina, the ruling resulted from a case in Anson County where the county board of education had submitted to the county commissioners a proposal for a bond issue of $1,250,000 to finance seven specific school construction projects. The commissioners approved the request and called a special bond election to obtain the necessary approval of the voters.

One of the projects for which the bond issue was requested was construction of a new high school for white students. On their own motion and without consultation with the county board of education, the commissioners submitted a second question in the bond election: should the new school be built even if the existing high school could be enlarged to accommodate all the white students in the county?

A majority of voters answered "yes" to the first question, thus approving the bond issue; but a majority also answered "no" to the second question. On the basis of the second answer, the commissioners proposed to reduce the bond issue from $1,250,000 to $950,000 by abandoning the project for the new high school. The plaintiff, as a taxpayer, began an action to either invalidate the election and restrain the commissioners from issuing the bonds thereby, or to compel them to issue the bonds in the originally authorized amount of $1,250,000 without abandoning the new high school project.

The lower court ruled against the plaintiff and dismissed his action. The plaintiff appealed and the Supreme Court reversed the decision.

The decision seems to establish a general budgetary procedure for school capital outlay in North Carolina, whether financed by tax or bond revenues: the county board of education must initiate proposals; the county commissioners can approve or disapprove them but they cannot substitute their own.

Texas County Drops Fee System

The office of justice of the peace in Hopkins County, Texas, formerly on a fee basis, has been placed on a salary basis by the county commissioners court. Salary for Justice Ray Morgan was set at $175 per month.

Wisconsin Medical Society Sponsors County Health Units

The Wisconsin State Medical Society is sponsoring legislation to organize centralized health departments in Wisconsin counties. The society urges an appropriation of $33,000 a year to the State Department of Health to finance

[1]See also page 294, this issue.

"trial runs" for such a project in not more than three counties each year, for a maximum of five years. Purpose is to secure a demonstration of the plan that the health department has been unable to sell to the legislature.

The society agrees with the health department that county-wide units are needed to replace the present program under which urban health services are frequently good but weak or non-existent beyond city boundaries. After the proposed trial financing by the state, the counties would be expected to take over, at their own initiative, or in cooperation with city governments.

Town Boards May Lobby Says Wisconsin Legislature

The Wisconsin state assembly recently passed a bill making it legal for town boards to lobby at the state capitol with the use of town funds. The bill was passed by the assembly "under the lash of town board members in its ranks," according to the *Wisconsin Tax News.*

"This newest of public officials' lobbies," says the publication, "apparently is to be condoned, presumably because counties and cities have received some statutory recognition for doing the same thing. This officials' lobby business at Madison is becoming pretty vicious. Usually to attend a hearing, a citizen has to elbow his way through a crowd of state or local officeholders whose salaries and expenses he is paying apparently so they can lobby for higher state spending and, thus, more state taxes."

Back to "Grass Roots" Says Town Health Officer

The trend in New York State is toward a down-to-earth "grass roots" administration of relief, meaning a return of greater responsibilities to towns, Ralph W. Witmer, welfare officer of the town of Webster, New York, told members of the Wayne County (New York) Welfare Officers Association.

"The method being discussed most during the last two years," he reported, "is the establishment of a more active central office in each town to be known by some name similar to a service center. Establishment of a service center does not mean that the town will have to make any new appointments."

A survey of towns made during the past two years revealed that ever-increasing duties and responsibilities are being handled by the town welfare and service officer, Mr. Witmer revealed. Some of the additional duties being placed on the shoulders of welfare officers are part-time assistant to the assessor, assistant to the tax collector, assistant to the town clerk, bookkeeper for the supervisor, building inspector, assistant to the building inspector, deputy tax collector, deputy registrar of vital statistics, deputy town clerk, director of the youth recreational program, inspector for the zoning board of appeals and manager of the school lunch program.

In addition, many town boards are appointing their welfare officers to either head Community Chest, Red Cross, March of Dimes and other drives, or to furnish clerical assistance or take some other active part. Also, many towns require their welfare officers to cooperate with local chambers of commerce in establishing local employment bureaus.

A total of 536 towns (out of 932) in New York State now have welfare or service officers, Mr. Witmer reported.

Taxation and Finance . . . . . *Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Jersey Commission Cites Property Tax Evils

Makes Its Report on 'A Century of Inequities'

NEW JERSEY stands out among the states as the one which has most successfully resisted the trend toward property tax replacement. The locally assessed property tax is responsible for 90 per cent of all local taxes and two-thirds of all state and local taxes, exclusive of payroll taxes. This is what is meant by the observation that New Jersey is a local property tax state.

The New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy recently published a comprehensive report on the property tax. Indicative of the abuses and inadequacies accumulated during a century of neglect, the commission's report opened with the following blunt statement:

> The evidence that the general property tax . . . is badly administered fills many pages of this report. There is not a county or municipality which can escape some criticism. In fact, the statutory conditions under which the tax is administered encourage some of the evils. Despite a century of tinkering with the administrative machinery, it is still woefully inadequate. It not only fails to produce a fair tax system, it also discolors many other vital relationships of government. New Jersey is not alone in this dismal situation. Similar conditions are to be found to some degree in almost every other state. But many states are taking steps to eliminate evils, and New Jersey has an opportunity to become a leader in the national movement for reform of the general property tax.[1]

The commission's report contains extensive and detailed statistical documentation that property is not uniformly assessed as among classes of property, as among taxing districts or as among individual properties within single taxing districts. The over-all conclusion is that all taxable real estate within the state is assessed at an average of about one-third its value.

On this basis, the statewide average tax rate of $6.77 per $100 valuation taxable (1952) represents an average effective tax burden of $2.30 per $100 of full value. However, the great variation as among property assessments indicates that this average can show the position of any single taxpayer only by accident. The averages do mean that the $433,000,000 which the property tax raised last year could have become three times as much, or $1,300,000,000 without any increase in the average tax rate. The commission observed:

> The full significance of this gap between law and practice can be appreciated only in light of the findings of this report—of discriminatory taxation, gross inequalities, incompetent assessments, competitive undervaluation, legal evasions, the breakdown of review and equalization, and the implications of these in the financial relationships between state and local government. This report is a criticism of the entire system, without regard to the work of any individual assessor or reviewing official, without distinction among taxing districts or political parties. We have bad laws, badly administered, because taxpayers of the state have been willing to accept bad compromises with fair and equal taxation.

The need to improve property tax administration is widely recognized, but improvement is difficult to accomplish. By no means least among the reasons for this is the habit of avoiding—rather than answering—questions of basic policy sometimes designated as "political."

[1]New Jersey Commission on State Tax Policy, Sixth Report, *The General Property Tax in New Jersey,* Trenton, February 1953, page ix.

The commission prefaced its recommendations with this statement:

> As a point of beginning, it will be necessary to drop the connotation that political means unchangeable. This study shows that the present system has failed. It is incredible that so much money is raised so badly. It demands that both political parties assume responsibility for the correction of recognized evils.

Against this background the commission developed specific recommendations to eliminate the present morass of inequities in the general property tax in two ways: (1) by establishing an adequate structure and organization for the local assessment of property, and (2) by placing the assessment process, so far as possible, upon defined and objective standards of value. Recommendations were as follows:

1. That the county be established as the primary assessment district with a fully qualified county assessor properly compensated.

2. That provision be made for the absorption of all qualified assessing personnel now employed in the various taxing districts.

3. That the costs of county assessment be apportioned among the municipalities of the county in proportion to their assessed valuations and that such costs be a charge against the budgets of the respective municipalities.

4. That the assessment process be recognized as a professional operation to be performed by technically qualified personnel, removed from all political considerations.

5. That the county boards of taxation be retained for the purposes of appeal and review, but that their title be changed to board of tax review with appropriate county designation, i.e., Board of Tax Review, [Blank] County Division.

6. That the Division of Taxation and the Division of Tax Appeals as at present constituted in the state's Treasury Department, be retained.

7. That the following method of valuation replace the historic "true value":

(a) Valuation for the purpose of assessment of property taxes should be made biennially, except for new construction, additions, abandonments and demolitions.

(b) Existing statutes should be revised in accordance with the letter and spirit of the tax clause of the new constitution to assure review and correction of discriminatory assessments regardless of whether or not the complainants' property is assessed at less than its full value.

(c) Standards of "true value" as applied to buildings and improvements, in recognition of the widespread practice of many assessors, should be defined by statute as follows:

> "True value" shall mean the average of reproduction costs less depreciation and the gross actual or imputed rental value of each property, to be ascertained under such uniform rules and regulations as may be promulgated by the director of the Division of Taxation.
>
> Land shall be valued by the assessor as under present practice.
>
> In order to assure the benefits of the new formula without depending upon radical reductions in present high tax rates, the legislature could provide for assessments to be made on 50 per cent of the valuation as determined by formula.
>
> Reproduction costs shall be determined according to the average level of construction costs during the five years immediately preceding the year for which an assessment is made.
>
> Depreciation shall be allowed in accordance with such schedule as the director of the State Division of Taxation shall promulgate, taking into consideration the actual use experience with different classes of buildings; but in no event shall depreciation exceeding 80 per cent of reproduction cost be taken, so long as a building is in use.

8. That the general tax law be amended to require every owner of real

property, upon suitable penalty, to file a confidential informational return with the assessor, setting forth so far as is possible: (a) the original cost of his property; (b) date of construction; (c) dates and costs of additions and modifications; (d) annual gross rentals for income producing properties; (e) the consideration for which the property was last conveyed; (f) insurance coverage (exclusive of land and foundations); (g) and if the property is currently for sale, the price at which it is offered, together with all encumbrances.

9. That the taxation of household goods and personal effects be abolished.

10. That taxation of all other locally assessed personal property be administered by the county assessor, as in the case of real estate and improvements under the proposed plan.

11. That inventories of raw materials, work in process, finished goods and stock-in-trade be assessed at a stated per cent of average book value during the year.

12. That machinery and equipment be assessed at a stated per cent of its book value, allowing for normal depreciation.

The commission concluded:

> These are the minimum requirements to place the general property tax of New Jersey on a fair and defensible basis. . . . It is the people and the legislature who must decide if they will be satisfied with anything less.

James A. Arnold, Jr.
Princeton Surveys
Princeton, New Jersey

Ohio Cities Adopt, Change Income Taxes

The city of Maumee, Ohio, has adopted a 1 per cent payroll income tax, effective January 1, 1953. The tax applies to salaries and wages, as well as net profits of businesses and professions, earned in Maumee by residents and nonresidents, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association.

Taxpayers must file returns on or before March 31 of each year, beginning with 1954. Employers are required to withhold taxes from wages and salaries at the time of payment and make quarterly returns to the city. A reciprocity clause is included in the ordinance, which permits a taxpayer to credit income taxes paid to other cities by residents of those cities against the tax due Maumee up to 50 per cent of the Maumee tax.

In two other Ohio cities income tax rates were changed. Springfield reduced its rate from 1 per cent to 6/10 per cent and Youngstown increased its rate from 3/10 per cent to ½ per cent.

Ordinances establishing municipal income taxes in Canton and Marietta, Ohio, were defeated at the polls in November. Lancaster, Ohio, imposed a ½ per cent income tax which was rejected at the November elections. The city readopted the tax on December 4, 1952, however, to become effective January 1, 1953. Two other Ohio cities, Akron and Struthers, adopted ½ per cent income taxes, while Campbell, Ohio, imposed a 3/10 per cent tax.

The only attempt in Minnesota during 1952 to broaden the municipal tax base met with defeat when the voters of Duluth rejected a proposed ½ per cent city income tax. Efforts in Michigan to establish a city income tax have thus far been stymied by adverse court decisions which have invalidated a 1 per cent tax proposal by the city of Saginaw on constitutional grounds.

Proportional Representation . . *Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr and Wm. Redin Woodward*

(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)

P. R. Fairest Plan Says Worcester Editor

Best System to Elect True Cross-section of Voters

EDITOR'S NOTE.—The article below appeared in the Worcester (Massachusetts) *Gazette* for April 25. Prepared by ROBERT C. ACHORN, of the *Gazette's* editorial staff, it is reproduced here by permission.

THERE are probably more misconceptions in these parts about P.R. than about almost any other subject.

P.R. is the handy tag for proportional representation, the system Worcester uses to elect its city council and school committee.

The politicians should know the facts. But a good many of them are vague on how P.R. works and what it is intended to do.

When Worcester changed to the council-manager system of government in 1950, the charter provided for nonpartisan elections. There are some who suppose P.R. was the only reason for taking party labels off the ballot.

But the two matters aren't that closely linked. Any type of charter the city would have been likely to accept would have provided for nonpartisan elections, P.R. or no P.R.

About 60 per cent of the cities in the country have nonpartisan municipal elections, although only a handful use P.R. Most large cities in Massachusetts have nonpartisan elections. Springfield, with its antique bicameral charter, is one of the few exceptions.

Nonpartisan elections have been common for many years in other parts of the country. More and more cities are turning to them, feeling that the issues that divide the parties at the national level have little to do with running a city.

The party hacks are always in there pitching for a return to the old system. Then, if their party sweeps into office, they can readily deal in patronage, favors and petty graft.

But some responsible citizens also cling to the idea that local government is more satisfactory if the responsibility can be put squarely on a single political party in power. They want "the two-party system" restored. They favor an arrangement under which the voters could mark their council ballots for nine candidates. Under this simple plurality system, the nine hopefuls with the most votes would be elected.

This is somehow supposed to provide "fairer" representation than does P.R. But it doesn't. Just the opposite.

Such an arrangement often doesn't mean a two-party system. It means a one-party system.

Boston, for example, chooses its city council on a somewhat similar method, with a primary and then a runoff election. The result is that Boston, for the first time, has not a single Republican in its city council. One out of every five enrolled voters in Boston is a Republican. But not one of the nine city councillors is a member of that party.

There are complaints about P.R. because a minority of the voters elects each councillor. But under some of the alternate schemes, a minority can elect the entire council.

The fact is that about 90 per cent of the votes cast here under P.R. go toward electing someone. No other system can come close to that.

In New York City, 7,123,455 votes cast at eighteen municipal elections were completely wasted. They didn't help elect anybody. And that was 41 per cent of the total vote cast in those elections.

P.R. is the best system yet worked out for electing to municipal office an accurate cross-section of the voters. Some may think that's not a good idea. But it's hard to say it is not "fair representation."

P.R. combines the best features of the ward system and of citywide elections. Under P.R,. each councillor is elected by a relatively small group, as in the ward system. In that way, no single group can monopolize the offices, as one can under a citywide election on a simple plurality basis.

P.R. eliminates geography as a consideration of a candidate's fitness for office. If voters know of a good candidate on the other side of the city, they can support him.

The P.R. argument can be carried on almost endlessly. And it's like other political arguments—all the talking in the world won't convince anybody who already has his mind made up.

Some of the P.R. critics are simply trying to make political hay. But many are completely sincere. In a good number of cases, however, they're not wholly clear on what part P.R. plays in Worcester's system of government.

Minority Report Lists P. R. as Future New York Charter Goal

As a member of the Mayor's Committee on Management Survey of the City of New York, which recently completed a three-year $2,000,000 series of studies of the city's government,[1] George H. Hallett, Jr., executive secretary of the New York Citizens Union and one of the editors of this department, submitted a "Minority Statement on Future Charter Objectives," published as Appendix F of Volume I of the committee's report.

This statement begins:

"The Mayor's Committee report seems to me highly constructive. . . .

"Nevertheless, it leaves a number of important questions unanswered which I think must be asked and answered some time if the city is to get the best structure for its needs."

The memorandum then lists and discusses as future charter objectives the standard city manager plan (instead of the committee's recommendation of a city administrator appointed by the mayor), a single-chamber policy board replacing the present board of estimate and city council, proportional representation for the election of the new policy board which would choose the city manager, an appointive instead of elective comptroller with only auditing functions, borough presidents serving as presidents of local improvement boards but without administrative duties, and community districts for administration and planning.

The part of the statement on proportional representation reads:

"Obviously the single policy board should be as representative as possible. A body like our present council, which consists of 24 Democrats, one Republican and no others, is not so constituted as to speak with a real mandate for all the citizens of the city. Some of our boards of estimate have been even less representative, consisting only of nominees of the largest party.

"Great stress has been properly placed in this report on the desirability of inviting active civic interest and participation in government. That objective is not well served by an

[1]See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 232.

election system which gives all the representation in each area to the largest organized group.

"Under New York City conditions it is not ordinarily possible to get anything even remotely approaching a properly representative governing body without proportional representation. We had proportional representation for five council elections, from 1937 to 1945. In every one of these at least a third of the places went to the minority and no one party ever monopolized the seats in any one of the four large boroughs. By and large the caliber of councilmen was superior to what we have had before and since. The members included increasingly creditable party representatives and such independent civic and labor leaders as Genevieve Earle, Dr. Harry Laidler, Louis Hollander, Charney Vladeck, Andrew Armstrong, Robert Straus, Ira Palestin, Gertrude Klein and Charles Belous. Stanley Isaacs and James Burke, prominent leaders and borough presidents of the two major parties, were first elected to the council under proportional representation by large independent minorities without party support. Ironically, the last proportional representation council was the best council we have had in point of record and accomplishment.

"The only reason we lost proportional representation was that the same system which assured participation in government by the various esteemed minorities of which our city is largely composed naturally gave representation also to unpopular minorities when they were sufficiently large. No avowed Communist could be elected in New York today, under proportional representation or any other system; but at a time when the United States and Russia were friendly allies, 2/23rds of the voters cast their votes for plainly labelled Communist candidates and elected two Communist councilmen out of a total of 23. Then the international climate changed and a party organization which all along had disliked proportional representation because proportional representation had broken its near-monopoly used the presence of the Communists to inflame the press and the voters against the system. The two times that the issue of repeal of proportional representation was presented to the New York electorate without complication of communism, in 1938 (on a prohibitory constitutional amendment) and in 1940 (on a straight repeal), the repeal was overwhelmingly defeated.

"For the present we are still too much worried about our dwindling Communist minority to make the resubmission of proportional representation opportune. But the time should come before long when New Yorkers will again be more concerned about electing people who can speak for them adequately than about guaranteeing the exclusion of somebody else, and then proportional representation will be reconsidered because it is the only way to make the people's representatives an accurate reflection of the people themselves. It is already in effect, in one form or another, in a large part of the democratic world, including such stable countries as Ireland, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Belgium and Australia.

"If the revival of proportional representation is coupled with the adoption of the council-manager plan we should get even better results from proportional representation than the moderately good results we got before, because the body elected by proportional representation will have much more power and therefore attract more high grade candidates and more intensive public attention at elections."

Citizen Committees Aid City Governments

Investigate Finance, Comic Books, Censorship, Planning

ACCORDING to a survey made by the Michigan Municipal League, reported in its *Michigan Municipal Revew* for February 1953, practically all Michigan cities use citizen committees at some time or other. The league sent questionnaires to 85 of the state's largest cities about half of which replied. In addition to some 264 citizen committees termed "administrative," the 45 cities which returned the questionnaires reported they had 85 committees "which may be described as advisory." "Taken as a group," reports the journal, "they are usually temporary and are not given much to work with in the way of funds or personnel."

Flint has many such committees, the most important of which is the Mayor's Fact-finding Committee which helped prepare a postwar capital improvement program and a priority basis for undertaking the various projects approved. Dearborn has a City Beautiful Commission, Petoskey a Waterfront Park Naming Committee.

Some groups act as censorship bodies. Muskegon has a Comic Book Committee, Adrian a Citizens Committee Controlling Sale and Distribution of Obscene Literature, Saginaw a Censorship Advisory Board and Royal Oak a Motion Picture Censorship Committee. Quite a few deal with traffic and parking problems.

Most of the committees have in common the fact that they are concerned with problems that are on the periphery of typical municipal activities, investigating new problems for which the city does not have adequate operating departments or activities which the people do not want the city to take over entirely but in which some municipal action is needed or they may investigate problems on which officials want to find out how the citizens feel.

A 24-member Citizens' Finance Committee in St. Louis, appointed by the mayor, has submitted its report making suggestions for economies in operating costs and for additional sources of revenue.[1]

The mayor of Gainesville, Florida, has appointed a committee of 32 local citizens to study the needs of the city and make recommendations to the city council.

In San Antonio, Texas, four neighborhood committees are advising the city's planning commission on needed improvements in their part of the community. These are divided into subcommittees on storm sewers and drainage, streets and traffic, and parks and recreation. The city has also a citizens' advisory committee on capital improvements, appointed by the mayor to advise city officials.

The Journal of Social Hygiene, in one of its recent issues, tells the story of the activities of the Citizens' Advisory Committee to the San Jose (California) police department. Authors are A. P. Herman, city manager, and Ray Blackmore, police chief. The committee's functions are to foster a closer relationship between the people of San Jose and their police department; to stimulate city-wide interest in educational programs designed to help the individual protect his life and property; to pool information useful to the police in controlling detrimental influences; to tell the public about the steps taken by the

[1] See the REVIEW, March 1953, page 145.

police department to control vice and crime; and to act in a consultative capacity on policies suggested by the city administration and to determine whether they would prove beneficial to San Jose.

City Councils Like Citizen Attendance at Sessions

City councils in three municipalities are interested in having their constituents attend council sessions and view the proceedings intelligently. Richmond (Virginia), Austin (Texas) and Hayward (California) distribute leaflets to visitors to aid in the understanding of the council's activities.

All three brochures contain a diagram of seating arrangements for the council and other officials in attendance. That for Richmond sets forth council procedure. The Austin piece contains a diagram of the city's government and describes the council's order of business and manner of taking action. Haywood describes the city's government, as well as duties of its officials, and suggests ways for citizen participation.

High school students attending sessions in Richmond get credit in their civics courses. The council tries to get the names of such students, sending each a letter of thanks for his council visit.

All three cities have council-manager government.

Adult Education Subject of Workshops, Articles

The February 1953 number of *Adult Leadership*, published by the Adult Education Association of the United States of America (743 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago) is devoted almost entirely to the subject of "initiating social action." Articles describe the meaning of social action and report on activity in particular communities. Jean and Jess Ogden, well known for their community services work with the Extension Division of the University of Virginia, tell how the people of Front Royal, Virginia, organized effectively for cooperative planning and action. "Youth Awakens a Sleeping Town," by J. D. Mezirow, describes how the efforts of the young people of Alexandria, Minnesota, stirred the community into organizing a Community Council for the development of youth programs. "The Best Defense," by Lester J. Waldman, describes the citizens' defense of the public schools, attacked in an unnamed large southwestern city. A large chart describes "Phases of Community Action." Many other helpful articles are included.

"A Summary Report of the AEA's Second National Conference," titled "The Adult Education Movement Charts Its Course," has been published in the January 1953 issue of *Adult Education*, of the Adult Education Association.

The AEA has just received a grant of approximately $92,000 for its magazine *Adult Leadership* and for its Council of National Organizations. Purpose of the association is "to further the concept of education as a process continuing throughout life," reports its president, Paul H. Durrie.

The seventh annual workshop and laboratory in human relations training of the National Training Laboratory in Group Development will be held June 21-July 11 at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine. The laboratory is sponsored by the National Education Association and the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the University of Michigan. For information apply to the laboratory at 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C.

The sixth annual conference on adult education, conducted by Community Services in Adult Education of Purdue and Indiana Universities and Ball State and Indiana State Teachers Colleges, was held April 20 at West

Lafayette, Indiana. It was an intensive one-day meeting "to discuss the public schools as a means of expanding adult education in Indiana communities."

Conducting Discussions

"The Blackboard," as an important adjunct to the conduct of a discussion group is described in a short article appearing in *Community Teamwork*, "A News Letter About Adult Education for Hoosiers," issued by Community Services in Adult Education at Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana. *Let's Discuss It*, "A Guide to Group Thinking," issued by the Ohio State University Discussion Service, conducts a short "Discussion Clinic" in its March 1953 issue.

Manager Plan Supported by Civic Groups

A number of Illinois cities which have recently adopted the council-manager plan held elections this spring to choose the councilmen under whom the plan will be inaugurated. In most of these places, the civic groups which worked to secure the plan supported slates of candidates.

In Mount Vernon, O. R. Buford, who spearheaded the campaign which made Mt. Vernon the first city to adopt the manager plan after passage of the 1951 Illinois enabling act, was chosen the city's first mayor under the new government.

The Citizens Committee for Good Government, which sponsored the manager plan for Rock Island, Illinois, elected its mayoral candidate and three of its four choices for aldermen. In Oak Park, the Village Manager party elected its candidates for mayor and aldermen. In Bloomington, the "All-Bloomington" group elected its mayoral candidate as well as three of four aldermen. "Peorians for Council-Manager" also elected its mayoral candidate and four of its candidates for city council.

The number one project of the Committee for Better Elgin (Illinois) is an educational program to discuss the respective merits of the council-manager and the commission forms of government. The action was approved at a meeting attended by representatives of 23 local civic, social and veterans' organizations.

An open forum on the council-manager form of government was held at the Lycoming College (Williamsport, Pennsylvania) campus in April. Representatives of eleven civic organizations participated in arranging the session, started as a project of the League of Women Voters of Williamsport.

In Iron Mountain, Michigan, the Citizens Committee for Council-Manager Government waged an unsuccessful fight for adoption of the manager plan.

All three local units of the League of Women Voters of Brockton, Massachusetts, held sessions in April to study and acquaint their members with the council-manager plan, advocated for the city.

Plan E government (council-manager with proportional representation) as applied in Worcester, Massachusetts, was discussed before the Married Couples Club of the Worcester Central Congregational Church by three city officials—the city manager and members of the city council and school committee. The meeting was sponsored by the Citizens Plan E Association.

The Civic League of Long Beach, California, where the council-manager plan has been in effect for 32 years, has prepared a proposed charter which, if adopted, says its *Municipal News*, "will greatly strengthen our city government." The new charter will continue the manager plan but along modern and more efficient lines.

The Council-manager Association of Iowa City held its biennial meeting on Thursday, April 23, when it elected ten members of its board. The meeting was

addressed by City Manager Peter F. Roan and Mayor William J. Holland.

Tax and Rentpayers, Inc., of Poughkeepsie, New York, heard Miss Elizabeth Knox, acting mayor of Hartford, Connecticut, speak on "Why Council-manager Cities Need a Nonpartisan Ballot" at its annual dinner. Poughkeepsie's council-manager charter went into effect last year. It provides for partisan elections for mayor and members of the council, the latter elected one from each ward.

The Charter Association of Colorado Springs, Colorado, organized in 1952[1] and pledged to support the city's council-manager government, endorsed three of the thirteen candidates running for three places on the city council, electing two of them. The third was narrowly defeated.

The fifth "Know Your City" neighborhood meeting sponsored by the city council of Phoenix, Arizona, was attended by some two hundred residents, reports the *City Manager's News Bulletin* of that city. A series of nine meetings is planned in different neighborhoods so that residents and city officials may get together to discuss mutual problems.

Proof of the Pudding

The Municipal League of Seattle and King County, one of the liveliest and most successful civic organizations in the country, has had so many queries from other groups throughout the country, it has prepared a mimeographed fourteen-page statement on *The Pudding's Proof of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County.* It describes how the league is organized, its scope of activities and its history, and lists a short inventory of accomplishments.

---

[1]See the REVIEW, December 1952, page 581, and March 1953, page 149.

State Reorganization

"Your pocketbook will keep on taking a beating," says the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Council, "unless current efforts to modernize government in Oklahoma are successful." It has circulated a small booklet, *Here's Your Broom,* issued by the Governor's Reorganization Committee, which depicts the need for reform in state administration.

Citizens' Handbook

The Bureau of Municipal Affairs of Pennsylvania's Department of Internal Affairs has published a *Pennsylvania Citizens' Handbook.* Prepared by Paul E. Kilmoyer II, research assistant of the bureau, the twenty-page pamphlet gives qualifications for voting, tells how to vote, lists dates of elections and describes what constitutes a political party. Listed also are the offices on all levels of government for which elections are held.

Three Reforms Asked

The Committee of Seventy of Philadelphia, in its *Civic Affairs* for February, lists three much needed reforms for its city and state: Completion of consolidation for the city and county, reapportionment of legislative and senatorial districts and revision of the state constitution.

Spring Cleanup

The Central Atlanta Improvement Association reports that it has joined the Women's Chamber of Commerce in its annual spring cleaning drive. "We are proud," says the association *Newsletter,* "that, thanks to that organization, Atlanta has just been awarded second place among American cities in annual competition for the title of 'cleanest city.' Let's back them, win the top award this year and prove that beauty brings business."

Citizenship Day Scheduled

The eighth national conference on citizenship, under the auspices of the National Education Association and the United States Department of Justice, will be held September 17-19 at the Statler Hotel in Washington, D. C. Theme of the conference is "What Price Freedom." Civic organizations are asked to name delegates to the sessions. Some twelve hundred are expected to attend.

Two reports of last year's conference, on "The Constitution and the Citizen," are now available. The Citizenship Committee of the National Education Association has issued a 55-page pictorial report containing excerpts from many of the addresses. It is available from the association's offices, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington 6, D. C., at 50 cents per copy.

The second report, *U. S. A. Citizenship* (56 pages), comes from the Office of the Attorney General. It covers the major part of the proceedings, reporting addresses and panel discussions.

Planning a Program

How to Plan a Club Program (21 pages), prepared particularly for women's organizations, has been published by Modern Homemaker, *McCall's* magazine, Dayton 1, Ohio. The price is 25 cents.

The April 1953 issue of *Adult Leadership* is devoted almost entirely to "evaluating program and performance." Articles include "Where and How to Look for What's Wrong," "Hurdles for Evaluators," "Evaluating Your Program," "Evaluating Goals" and others.

Community and the University

Two publications on cooperation between the university and the community are: *Fifth Annual Report—Program of Community Dynamics* (21 pages), issued by Earlham College of Richmond, Indiana, and *The Community of New York and Its Universities—A Suggestion for More Effective Cooperation* (fifteen pages). The latter was prepared by Irwin V. Shannon and Max Wolff. It may be secured from Mr. Wolff, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York 27.

Political Directory

A *1953 Political Directory* has been issued by the League of Women Voters of Atlanta, Georgia. Listed are all officials, both appointive and elective, for Atlanta and Fulton County, as well as legislators and congressmen from the area.

Seek Constitutional Revision

The Texas Junior Chamber of Commerce, at its state convention on April 25, went on record "in favor of the state legislature adopting the resolution [presented to it by a group of citizens] providing for exhaustive, impartial and expert research on state government and constitutional reform." It points out that Texas' constitution has been amended 113 times since its adoption in 1876 and that it has "too much administrative detail incorporated in it." Copies of the chamber's resolution were sent to the governor and members of the legislature, as well as the press.

Fight on Crime

Fifty Chicago organizations are cooperating in the circulation of a "Citizens March on Crime" petition, reports the *Chicago City Club News*. Directed to the mayor and city council, the petition requests that "the Council Emergency Crime Committee be continued and strengthened; that a competent staff, in whom the people have confidence, be hired; and that "a thorough and vigorous investigation be conducted to determine what persons and conditions are responsible for the alliance between crime and politics, and that such investigation result in the enactment of legislation to break this alliance."

Researcher's Digest . . . . . *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Metropolitan Areas Demand Attention

Recent Writings Show More and Broader Effort Needed

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This is the first section of an article on metropolitan area problems. The second section will appear in the REVIEW for July.

A REVIEW of writings about American metropolitan government during the past year brings to light again some of the salient problems in this most challenging political and administrative arena. On few other problems of American government has there been as much lamentation and study in recent years and as little concrete improvement. Beyond the shadow of a doubt, there is urgent need to get the facts about our metropolitan areas and to go swiftly and methodically into a concerted program for alleviating the major problems. In December 1952 the American Municipal Association recognized this by establishing a committee on metropolitan areas "to undertake a comprehensive research program of the major problems of metropolitan areas."

Literature on the characteristics and pathology of the metropolitan complex and on governmental solutions for many of the problems fits generally into a familiar framework.

First, the bulk of the writing has been research of the many facets of the so-called metropolitan problem and its underlying causes. Sociologists and planners have by all odds been most productive here. Political scientists have given worthwhile attention to discrete areas and a few specific problems; but in their writings there has been a shortage of synthesis. Few have tried to bring together the results of the mass of studies on specific places, functions and devices and to classify, describe and criticize them generally. One is also struck with the fact that there are still many specific questions which have received little or no significant attention.

Second, a small group of scholars has dealt with governmental "solutions" or remedies for certain metropolitan problems, usually in connection with a brief summary of their research findings. A third, yet smaller, group has tried to prescribe the ways in which remedies should be applied.

Research Studies

Most of the research falls into one or another of a few categories: (1) writings on a single characteristic of the metropolis, for example, its size; (2) those dealing with a single governmental function or service such as sanitation or planning (often in a single area); (3) those looking at a geographic part, the central city or fringe areas; and (4) a few covering one whole metropolitan area.

An instance of the first type is an article by R. M. Lillibridge, "Urban Size: an Assessment" (*Land Economics*, November 1952). Instead of looking at a single city, Lillibridge brings together most of the important writings on the relation of city population to social relationships and the effective operation of municipal services. Such syntheses, even on a small part of the metropolitan problem, are all too rare. He discusses the contributions made by researchers on the subject of city size and concludes generally that "success in functioning" is definitely related to size. Most of the writers he identifies are economists, sociologists or planners; political scientists have rarely invaded this field. In the research that has been done, Mr. Lillibridge finds "it is readily apparent that

there is a wide variation in the reliability and comparability of basic data."

The second category of research studies examines specific functions or services. Two excellent examples have appeared in recent months. Winston W. Crouch and Wendell Maccoby describe the development of metropolitan area-wide sewage and waste disposal administration in *Sanitation Administration in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area* (University of California, Los Angeles, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1952). "Two strongly organized major systems of sanitation administration . . . have demonstrated an amount of flexibility in their scheme of organization that met the needs of a rapidly growing metropolitan community where municipal boundaries have changed often and where the pattern of municipal boundaries was a complex one."

The Los Angeles city system of contracts with neighboring cities places policy leadership in the city of Los Angeles, however, and depends solely upon contracts to enforce that leadership, and the authors fear that the citizens of Los Angeles one day may refuse to finance improvements or reconstruction. They look with more favor upon the "strong administrative enterprise" of the Los Angeles County sanitation districts system, governed by boards representing the areas involved.

Searching for a dynamic, over-all solution, the authors finally suggest that some type of special authority, similar to the Metropolitan Water District, in which each member city has representation on the governing board, would "be more conducive to smooth operation in the future." Such *ad hoc* solutions have met with increasing favor in the past decade, as is indicated by the national increase of 48.4 per cent in the total of special districts.[1]

[1]U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Governments in the United States in 1952*, 1953.

Urban redevelopment has received its definitive treatment to date in two lengthy volumes, *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment* and *Urban Redevelopment: Problems and Practices* (University of Chicago, 1953), edited by Coleman Woodbury. A number of capable contributors bring into focus the fact that blight is a continuing as well as a crisis problem, and stress again and again that redevelopment, in its human as well as its physical aspects, must continuously proceed in both central city and suburbs.

These two books are a landmark—so comprehensive in their treatment that they will receive much well deserved attention in coming years. They represent a summing up, a bringing together of most of the research on this topic to the present moment. The job they do is one which needs to be done on every function of metropolitan government.[2]

Fringe Areas

A third type of research, examination of different geographic parts of the metropolis, has been frequent in recent years. "Fringe areas" especially have received a great deal of attention, as chronic "suburbanitis" has proceeded apace.[3] Barbara J. Hudson's newly prepared bibliography on *The Urban Fringe Problem* (University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1952) is evidence of the fact.

Of course, the definition of "fringe areas" may differ for the purposes of different authors, functions or recom-

[2]Herbert Emmerich, in complimenting these studies, has pointed out some shortcomings, for example, too little time is spent on the question of financing new building. He suggests consideration of a "superannuation tax to be applied to structures and areas which have outlived their usefulness." See "New Approaches to Urban Redevelopment," *Public Management*, February 1953.

[3]See Thomas H. Reed, "Suburbanitis," NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, December 1950.

mendations. In a plan for action, however, some line must be drawn. Harland Bartholomew and Associates in phase two of the Toledo Master Plan have recommended, for example, that water and sewer service be extended to areas "expected to develop a population density of at least five persons per acre." They propose that the water system be under city control, but that a new district covering all the area be formed to manage the sewers.[4]

The spattering of housing developments, shopping centers and industries across the countryside has been a focal point for single area studies and master plans and, as suburban structures age, it has become obvious that there are redevelopment problems there as well as in the central city. Trends and patterns, however, are not at all clear. In Part II, "Industrial Location and Urban Redevelopment," of *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment,* Coleman Woodbury and Frank Cliffe have probed one aspect. To the question whether industries are decentralizing or diffusing within metropolitan areas, they give no firm answer. They find considerable variation in different industries and different parts of the country. "From an over-all view of the patterns of industrial location over the past half century or so, their chief characteristic is their relative stability." (Page 286.)

Obviously, industry is moving about and new plants are being built which are having strong repercussions on small communities and rural sections within and without metropolitan areas, for example, the Fairless Plant of United States Steel at Morrisville, Pennsylvania, and the new atomic installation at Portsmouth, Ohio. There are indications that industry management, government officials and private citizens are giving more constructive attention than formerly to the ramified questions of plant location.[5] We need studies, however, of what management is doing to anticipate problems, of what happens to local institutions and attitudes when there is an influx of workers and capital, of what state and local governments are doing or might do to control these situations.

The housing development or tightly knit community on the city's outskirts is a convenient unit for research because it is simple to define. Brief studies such as *Land Development in the Metropolitan Area of Toronto* (Toronto Real Estate Board, October 1952) are, however, rather infrequent. Its compilation of statistics on assessments, taxes, education, costs and debts in twenty villages, subdivisions and developments depicts the inequalities in a situation that to a degree is typical. The researcher can find other instances of such studies, and there is a task of pulling together and comparing which needs doing.

Another instance of research is that covering many characteristics and services in a single metropolitan area. Problems of the Nashville area are treated in the report of the Community Services Commission for Davidson County and the city of Nashville: *Future Nashville* (June 1952). The commission's recommendations are too lengthy to be included here, but it should be noted that they lean heavily on the devices of annexation of territory to the city and county assumption of "county-wide functions." They do not recommend establishment of any special districts or authorities.

Los Angeles Studied

The Haynes Foundation has published eleven of the projected sixteen volumes of a monumental study of the Los Angeles area, *Metropolitan Los Angeles*

[4] *Toledo Municipal News,* January 1953.

[5] See Guthrie S. Birkhead, "New Industries Pose City Problems," the REVIEW, December 1952; Lawrence Durisch, "Attracting Industry to Cities," the REVIEW, May 1953.

—*A Study in Integration.*[6] This *tour de force* is undoubtedly the most thorough of its kind for many years; probably the study of a *Regional Plan for New York and Its Environs* (1927-31) is the only comparable prior work in this country. The completed set will include volumes on characteristics of the metropolis, population growth, finances, intergovernmental relations and eleven governmental functions. The final volume is to consider the question, "Is integration possible?"

Another publication of this type looks at Indianapolis: *Report with Recommendations* to the Indiana General Assembly by an official agency, the Metropolitan Area Study Commission of Marion County, Indiana (November 1952). This commission caps its research by recommending that all adjacent "urbanized" areas should be brought within the limits of Indianapolis.[7] Outside this city they would create a new unit of government, a joint rural township board, to provide certain services (highways, planning and zoning, and police); although the present townships would continue to exercise present functions (schools, relief and fire protection). Then, certain services would reach county-wide under the direction of the county government (law enforcement, health, welfare, among others).

This rather intricate distribution of functions would be accompanied by establishment of a Regional Planning Commission with jurisdiction extending five miles beyond the limits of the new city. Finally, annexation of built-up territory to the city would be accomplished by the city council, upon recommendation of the Regional Planning Commission. This ambitious program would require several constitutional amendments and numerous statutory changes, so many, in fact, that one is tempted to ask why the commission did not go further in its recommendations toward area-wide government and abolish several units of government. To an outsider, this proposal would not appear much less "practical" than those that were made.

Governmental Remedies[8]

Researchers customarily climax a study with proposals for solving or ameliorating some of the conditions they have found. Studies vary widely from the purely descriptive to the chiefly argumentative. Often more useful in the practical world of public affairs, however, are studies of the suggested solutions, research into and comparisons of the cases where they have been attempted, and evaluations of their usability.

[6]E. A. Cottrell and H. L. Jones, *Characteristics of the Metropolis,* 1952; R. Bigger and J. D. Kitchen, *How the Cities Grew,* 1952; J. N. Jamison, *Regional Planning,* 1952; R. F. Wilcox, *Law Enforcement,* 1952; W. W. Crouch, W. Maccoby, M. G. Morden and R. Bigger, *Sanitation and Health,* 1952; J. K. Trump, M. Kroll and J. R. Donoghue, *Fire Protection,* 1952; R. F. Wilcox, *Highways,* 1953; H. L. Jones, *Personnel Management,* 1952; P. Beckett, M. Plotkin and G. Pollack, *Governmental Purchasing,* 1952; H. L. Jones, *Schools,* 1952; and H. L. Jones, *Libraries,* 1953. The remaining five volumes will be *Water Supply, Recreation and Parks, Finance and Taxation, Intergovernmental Relations* and *The Metropolis: Is Integration Possible?*

[7]The Commission defines as "urban" those unincorporated areas where there were eight or more residences per quarter mile square area (one residence per five acres). It recommends, however, that twice this density be used as the standard for bringing unincorporated areas into the city in the future.

[8]Victor Jones has made the most familiar and useful classification of these devices. He distinguishes two general types: those involving no structural changes and those requiring "fundamental changes in the structure of the existing units." He arranges the various remedies under these headings. *Metropolitan Government,* Chicago, Social Science Research Council, 1942, page 87.

The Government of Metropolitan Areas in the United States (National Municipal League, 1930) and Victor Jones' *Metropolitan Government* (1942) have been the standard critiques of such governmental devices for years.

Jones has brought much of his thinking up to date in *The Future of Cities and Urban Redevelopment,* Part IV, "Local Government Organization in Metropolitan Areas: Its Relation to Urban Redevelopment." In view of increasing utilization in the past decade, the devices of annexation[9] and special districts and authorities receive careful attention. The author, however, does take a stand in favor of the federal idea: "I doubt that any proposal has much chance of success unless it is based on the 'federal principle' of allocating metropolitan functions to a metropolitan government and leaving other functions to less-than-metropolitan governments." (Page 605.) The recent merger of twelve suburban communities in the Toronto metropolitan area with the central city for purposes of administering planning and zoning, parks and recreation, water supply and sewage, assessments and several other services, provides the only important instance of the federal plan in effect on this continent.[10] It evidently goes far beyond any move that has ever been made in the United States.

The substance of most scholarly prescriptions for metropolitan ills can be summed up in a word—integrate. By endorsing remedial measures that are strongly integrative and require radical changes, Jones and other writers cited in these pages continue the trend. In his *Administrative Problems in a Metropolitan Area: The National Capital Region* (Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952), Geddes W. Rutherford has sought to combat this trend with a recommendation for more formal and informal intergovernmental cooperation in the Washington, D. C., area. He is conscious of the peculiar situation created by federal jurisdiction over the District of Columbia in combination with the interstate character of the metropolis. In his rejection of integrative devices, however, and in his insistence that most other students have recommended those devices only on the basis of *a priori* reasoning, Rutherford stands pretty much alone.

Effecting Governmental Solutions

Most neglected of these three types of writing is the study and prescription of the ways in which remedies or solutions, once chosen, should be recommended to the public. To judge from the poor record of applying such measures in the United States, one might think the topic would have been a favorite one for writers. It has not been so.

Brief articles on procedural matters that have appeared this past year are only suggestive of the uncharted problems. How is a plan for further integrating a metropolitan area produced and effected? How can citizen action on an area-wide scale be initiated and maintained at a high pitch? How can the so-called solutions be instituted and tested?

Three authors have inquired as to the best methods of organizing for and effectuating planning for the entire metropolitan area.[11] Official and private plan-

[9] A Public Administration Clearing House *News Bulletin,* February 11, 1953, reports several of the annexation programs which large cities have undertaken in recent years. Seven places are mentioned as having greatly increased their areas through annexation since World War II. On the other hand, many more cities have experienced no annexation; and, indeed, many new incorporations have occurred in their suburbs. For example, Minneapolis has been completely encircled by suburbs during the past ten years. Around Chicago ten new municipalities have appeared.

[10] See the REVIEW, May 1953, page 236.

[11] H. G. MacNiven, "Organization for

ning organizations in the areas of Pittsburgh, Kansas City (Missouri), Cleveland, Detroit, Nashville, Indianapolis, Atlanta and Boston are examined. In some cases, their legal bases, objectives, membership, full-time staff, budget and results to date are described. In two or three cases there have been concrete accomplishments beyond the mere formulation of a regional plan. For example, some of the health recommendations in Nashville have been adopted. The Atlanta and Baton Rouge plans are now in effect. These brief studies indicate in some measure, however, the extreme political difficulties under which these planning groups operate. No attempts are made to criticize their methods or diagnose the political weaknesses from which they suffer.

Studies of politics, pressure groups and political action in the metropolitan area have been most neglected. A Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund pamphlet, *The Big City: An Inquiry into Civic Participation* (Washington 1952), outlines briefly the difficulties facing conscientious and effective citizenship in the urban complex. Intended as a guide for civic organizers, the pamphlet also points out the need for more research in the use of mass media in the metropolis, in financing citizen organizations there, in training leaders and in other topics. The conclusion is that "Much further study, research and experimentation is imperative."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

News from GRA

The Governmental Research Association has announced its annual competition for written materials prepared by members. One award will be given for the "most noteworthy piece of research" and another will be made for the "most effective presentation of a subject." Entries must be submitted by June 5 of each year.

The Association has just issued a *Supplement* to the 1952-1953 *Directory of Organizations and Individuals Engaged in Governmental Research and Related Activities.* The *Supplement* lists changes which have occurred during the period July 1952 to March 1953.

Regional members of the Governmental Research Association met in three daytime sessions at the Martinique Hotel, New York City, on May 2. Seminars on two subjects—"Are We Getting Enough from the Property Tax" and "What Happens When a Governmental Researcher Becomes a Public Administrator"—and a luncheon meeting were well attended.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Annexation

South Dakota Municipalities and Their Problem of Annexation. By John F. Green. Vermillion, League of South Dakota Municipalities, *South Dakota Municipalities,* April 1953. 2 pp.

Budgets

The Capital Expenditures Budget. How Cities May Efficiently Schedule the Construction of Public Facilities. By Philip P. Green, Jr. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, *Popular Government,* April 1953. 4 pp.

Economy and the New York City Budget. New York 17, Citizens Budget Commission, Inc., April 15, 1953. ii, 53 pp.

City Planning

City Planning and Urban Development. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber

---

Metropolitan Planning," *Minnesota Municipalities,* February 1953; N. N. Gill, *Memorandum re Study Commissions on Metropolitan Government Problems,* Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau, September 12, 1952; and W. R. Greeley, "The City or the Suburbs or Both?", *The American City,* January 1953.

of Commerce of the United States, Construction and Civic Development Department. 1952. 47 pp. 30 cents.

Fringe Areas

Fringe Areas and Rural Communities: Incorporation, Annexation, Special Districts, or Anarchy. By Don Dickey. Urbana, University of Illinois, Department of Agricultural Economics and Institute of Government and Public Affairs, *Local Government Notes,* February 3, 1953. 8 pp.

Hospitals

The State Hospital. Concord, New Hampshire Taxpayers Federation, *New Hampshire Taxpayer,* April 1953. 4 pp.

Housing

Columbus Public Housing Study. Columbus (Ohio), Citizens Research Inc., 1952. 85 pp.

Legislative Councils

Report to the Thirty-second Session of the Wyoming State Legislature. Casper, Legislative Interim Committee, 1953. 23 pp.

Biennial Report 1951-1952. Columbus 15, Ohio Program Commission, January 1953. 132 pp.

Local Government Services

Public Services in Unincorporated Communities. Berkeley, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, April 1953. 28 pp. $1.00.

Medical Care

Report of the Committee to Review the Medical Care Program. Baltimore, Maryland State Planning Commission, Committee on Medical Care, February 1953. 74 pp. 50 cents.

Municipal Government

Charter Change in Newark. Newark 2 (New Jersey), Bureau of Municipal Research Inc., *Memo,* April 1953. 1 p.

Municipal Management. Buffalo 2 (New York), Municipal Research Bureau, Inc., *Just a Moment,* April 16, 1953. 3 pp.

Personnel

How to Lower Morale in the City Service. Philadelphia 7, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Citizens' Business,* April 20, 1953. 4 pp.

On-the-job Training for Municipal Employees. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Government of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration,* May 1953. 2 pp.

Promotion by Merit and Politics. Waterbury 2 (Connecticut), Taxpayers' Association, Inc., *Governmental Briefs,* April 27, 1953. 2 pp.

Research

Regional Economic Research—An Appraisal. Tucson, University of Arizona, Bureau of Business Research, College of Business and Public Administration, *Arizona Business and Economic Review,* December 1952, 6 pp.

Research in Organization Effectiveness. By John M. Pfiffner. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, *Public Personnel Review,* April 1953. 6 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Facts on Wyoming State Fiscal Operations: A Compilation of Tables and Charts. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, March 1953. 18 pp.

Financial Data, City of Providence, Rhode Island: Fiscal Years ending September 30, 1943-1952. Providence 3, Governmental Research Bureau, February 1953. 8 pp.

Fiscal Reorganization.[1] Topeka, Kansas Legislative Council, Research Department, January 1953. vi, 40 pp.

Local Government Finances in Maryland: 1951-1952. Baltimore 1, Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau, 1953. 40 pp.

Minnesota's State and Local Tax Burden. St. Paul, Minnesota Legislative Research Committee, 1952. Variously paged.

---

[1]See also page 283, this issue.

Books in Review

They Went to College. The College Graduate in America Today. By Ernest Havemann and Patricia Salter West. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1952. x, 277 pp. $4.00.

Chapters 9 and 10 of this book, "Six Million Opinions" and "In the Voting Booth," constitute worthwhile reading for those interested in the development of participation in civic affairs. The authors give a lively interpretation of an extensive survey of college graduates, conducted by *Time*, Inc. Among other things, it is concluded that graduates are politically much more conservative than is commonly believed; that, of graduates who give themselves a party label, Republicans outnumber Democrats by about three to two; that the number of Democrats among women graduates is definitely higher than among men; that nearly four out of ten men and about three out of ten women list themselves as independents.

"But perhaps the ultimate political fact about our graduates is this: while they are an unusually well informed and alert group of citizens, and conscientious about going to the polls, neither the Republicans, Democrats nor independents among them carry as much political weight as their position in life would justify. Like most non-graduates, most graduates seem to leave politics to the professionals. The tragedy of U. S. politics may be akin to that of the weather—while everybody complains about it, nobody including those best qualified does much about it."

GUTHRIE S. BIRKHEAD

Interstate Cooperation—A Study of the Interstate Compact. By Vincent V. Thursby. Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1953. vii, 152 pp. $3.25.

In company with *The Interstate Compact Since 1925*, by F. L. Zimmerman and Mitchell Wendell (Council of State Governments, 1951), this book provides a fairly complete history of experience with interstate compacts. Mr. Thursby is not too enthusiastic in recommending further use of the device. He concludes: "Its use would seem desirable wherever it appears applicable. That use may, indeed, be essential to preservation of the vitality and potency of the states and to avoidance of an overladen general government. And both of these may be essential to efficiency and to freedom. Certainly they are essential to federalism of the United States pattern."

The American City. By Stuart Alfred Queen and David Bailey Carpenter. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. viii, 383 pp. $5.50.

This textbook for college courses in urban sociology is a major revision of *The City*, published fourteen years ago by Mr. Queen and the late Lewis F. Thomas. It is notable for the attention it gives to the many different problems of the big city and big city life. The authors discuss at one point or another much of the major research that has appeared on metropolitan areas, and they draw extensively on their knowledge of the St. Louis area. They have missed, however, some important works like Victor Jones' *Metropolitan Government*.

Hidden Murder. By Victor Cohn and Charles W. Bailey. (A series of articles reprinted from the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*.) Minneapolis, the

Tribune, 1953. 8 pp. (Available from the National Municipal League.)

Two staff writers of the *Minneapolis Tribune* prepared and published in February a comprehensive series of articles on the state of the coroner service in Minnesota. In them they lined up the existing practice in that state and elsewhere, comparing it with the National Municipal League's *Model Medico-legal Investigative System*. An immense amount of picturesque and shocking material is presented, equivalent in total space to about five full newspaper pages.

R. S. C.

Making Good Communities Better (Revised). By Irwin T. Sanders. Lexington, University of Kentucky Press, 1953. vii, 197 pp. $2.50.

This is a revision of the same title of 1950. It canvasses the diverse difficulties of stirring up effective civic activity and organization in villages and cities. It is brief, readable and practical.

Democracy Is You. A Guide to Citizen Action. By Richard Waverly Poston. New York, Harper & Brothers, 1953. xi, 312 pp. $3.00.

Mr. Poston in his *Small Town Renaissance* has previously narrated the three-year effort and ultimate expiration of the Montana Study, begun in 1944. Since then in the Bureau of Community Development at the University of Washington he has pursued similar efforts to show communities how to study themselves and spot local inadequacies of service and culture. Disappointingly, this book includes no narratives of success and failures but is wholly hortatory and conjectural, with such a dismaying abundance of advice and big questionnaires that it is hard to imagine volunteers energetic enough to proceed on such programs.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Education

School Facilities Survey. Second Progress Report. Prepared by the School Housing Section, Office of Education. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 63 pp. Tables, charts.

Statistics of State School Systems 1949-50. Chapter 2 of Biennial Survey of Education in the United States. By David T. Blose and William Jaracz. Washington, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Office of Education, 1952. 115 pp.

Foreign Government

Parliamentary Government in the Commonwealth. A Symposium. Edited by Sydney D. Bailey. New York, Philosophical Library, 1952. v, 217 pp. $4.50.

Foreign Relations

Strengthening Our Foreign Policy. A Report by a Study Group of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1952. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Trade—and Aid. By Beatrice Pitney Lamb. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1953. 28 pp. 25 cents.

Judiciary

The Twilight of Judicial Control in the Province of Quebec. By Gerald Eric LeDain. Ottawa, Canada, McGill University, *The McGill Law Journal*, Autumn 1952. 21 pp.

Labor Relations

Effective Procedures for the Handling of Employee Grievances. By Louis J. Van Mol. Chicago 37, Civil Service Assembly, 1953. 25 pp. $2.00.

Libraries

The Problem of Periodical Storage in Libraries. A Solution with a List

of Current Periodicals Available on Microfilm for the Cost of Binding. Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilms, 1952. Unpaged.

Management

The Secretariat Function. A Staff Aid for Executive Management. By John Grange. Chicago, Public Administration Clearing House, 1953. 75 pp.

Municipal Government

Proposals for Improvement in the Business Methods of the City of Chicago. Summary Report. Chicago, Committee on City Expenditures, 1953. 59 pp.

Neighborhoods

Preventing Tomorrow's Slums. A Plan to Preserve Values in Older Neighborhoods (Preliminary Report). Chicago, The Interim Commission on Neighborhood Conservation, 1952. 20 pp.

Parking

Parking Pickle. A Report on the Chamber of Commerce Parking Clinic, Salem, Massachusetts, December 3, 1952. Washington 6, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953. 55 pp. Photos, charts.

Personnel

State Distribution of Public Employment in 1952. Washington, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1953. 24 pp.

Primaries

The Case Against a Mid-summer Primary. New York 5, Election Reform Committee, 1953. 8 pp. (Apply Room 2200, 14 Wall Street, New York 5.)

Public Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kits on Traffic Safety Promotion. Theme for July: **Vacation Driving;** Theme for August: **Signs of Life.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1953. Variously paged.

Who . . . Me? The Travelers 1953 Book of Street and Highway Accident Data. Hartford, Connecticut, The Travelers Insurance Company, 1953. 32 pp.

Records Management

Records Management and Administration: Selected References (Revised). Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Budget, Library, 1952. 7 pp.

Retirement Systems

New Chamber Policy on Social Security Program for the Aged. Washington, D. C., Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1953. 24 pp.

Pensions in the United States. A Study prepared for the Joint Committee on the Economic Report by the National Planning Association. Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 106 pp.

Retirement Coverage of State and Local Government Employees. Washington 25, D. C., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Budget, 1953. 12 pp.

Sewage Disposal

Sewerage and Sewage Treatment (Seventh Edition). By Harold E. Babbitt. New York, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1953. ix, 674 pp. $8.

Subdivisions

Subdivision Regulations. A Model Set of Standards for Tennessee Communities. Nashville 3, Tennessee State Planning Commission, 1953. 23 pp.

Town Government

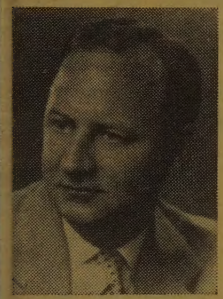
Forms of Town Government in Connecticut. By Max R. White and Shirley Raissi. Storrs, University of Connecticut, Institute of Public Service, 1952. 25 pp. 25 cents.

Training for Public Service

Educational Preparation for Public Administration. A Catalog of Graduate Programs 1952-53. Chicago, Public Administration Service, 1952. 65 pp. $1.50.

Mauck to Serve U. S. in Brazil

Elwyn A. Mauck, since 1940 editor of the County and Township section of the REVIEW, has been appointed public administration consultant in the Institute of Inter-American Affairs, a unit of the U.S. Department of State.



Elwyn A. Mauck

Dr. Mauck's first assignment will be to establish a department of public administration at the University of Minas Gerais, a state university located in Belo Horizonte, a city of 400,000 about 200 miles north of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. He will also act as special advisor to the state of Minas Gerais and to the city of Belo Horizonte. When the department has been set up, he will probably be given a similar assignment in another part of Brazil.

Most recently, Dr. Mauck has been director of the Maryland State Fiscal Research Bureau and staff director of the Commission on Administrative Organization of the State (of Maryland). Previously, he taught political science at the Universities of Maryland and North Carolina. He has also held county, state and federal administrative posts and assisted in the establishment of a school of public administration at the University of Puerto Rico. In 1946, he conducted a survey of a county government in Maryland for the League's Consultant Service.

His successor as County and Township editor will be announced soon.

Conference Plans

(Continued from page 265)

were offered, were Ed. P. Phillips, regional vice president of the League; L. E. Marlowe, member of the League's Council and former president of the Richmond Citizens' Association; City Manager Sherwood Reeder; Henrico County Manager Edward A. Beck; Raymond Pinchbeck, University of Richmond; Dr. James Pate, William & Mary College; Weldon Cooper, assistant director, Bureau of Public Administration, University of Virginia; Harold Baumes, executive director, League of Virginia Municipalities; Mrs. Ralph Laird, president, Richmond Chapter, League of Women Voters; William Speck, executive director, League of Virginia Counties; Morton Wallerstein, counsel to League of Virginia Municipalities; Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, executive secretary, Virginia Students Cooperative Association; and Edward Brill, Chamber of Commerce.

Ed. P. Phillips

At another meeting in Richmond, Mr. Bebout discussed problems of civic education and how they might be presented in connection with the Conference with Mr. Phillips; H. I. Willett, superintendent of Richmond public schools; Dr. Fred B. Dixon, principal of John Marshall High School; and William Lloyd, director of school-community relations for the Richmond public schools.

An organization meeting of the local arrangements committee will be held soon to set up subcommittees to handle various aspects of the Conference.

Women Voters Hear League Speakers

Three National Municipal League personalities recently delivered addresses at state conventions of the League of Women Voters.

Richard S. Childs

Richard S. Childs, Executive Committee chairman, spoke at the New Jersey convention at Asbury Park; Bayard H. Faulkner, member of the Council, spoke at the Illinois convention in Chicago; and John E. Bebout, assistant director of the League, addressed the Pennsylvania convention at Bedford Springs.

Said Mr. Childs, in part: "We cannot devise a system of government that will automatically produce good administration but we can achieve systems which will almost inevitably be democratic. If we achieve a practical working of the democratic process, the self-interest of the voters can be appealed to for correction of lapses in performance, and sensitive responsiveness of the mechanism will facilitate the ability of such self-interest to prevail. Our goal is democracy in a truly workable form, free of such oddities as bossisms, rings or tight self-renewing cliques of politicians, regardless of whether taxes go up or down."

Bayard H. Faulkner

Mr. Faulkner traced the changes in our civilization during the first 50 years of the twentieth century — some good, some bad — and foresaw hope for the future so long as freedom lives.

"We in the west are beginning again to know and appreciate our heritage [of freedom] and to recognize its stimulating power in the minds of men," he declared. He named as "other straws in the wind" indicating progress: a marked resurgence of citizen interest, particularly in the small community, and the ability of Americans to adapt themselves to changing conditions.

John E. Bebout

Mr. Bebout congratulated the Pennsylvania League for taking the initiative in studying possibilities for better government through a constitutional convention. It was the LWV that took the initiative in organizing the nonpartisan effort for revision in Georgia, Missouri and New Jersey, where important changes were made, he declared.

He urged the Pennsylvania League to reject vigorously the opposition that may arise as an appeal to fear. "Those who oppose a constitutional convention on this ground," he declared, "do so either because they have a selfish interest to protect which they feel would not withstand the light which debate would throw upon it or they are saying in effect that we Americans today cannot trust ourselves to deal wisely with the future of the commonwealth as our forebears fortunately were prepared to trust themselves."